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To Barbara with love from daddy.
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Barbara Luthrae

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"Friday kneeled down and laid his head upon the ground,"

(See p. 147.)

Frontispiece

THE ADVENTURES
OF
ROBINSON CRUSOE

BY
DANIEL DEFOE

WITH 48 COLOUR PLATES
BY A. E. JACKSON

WARD, LOCK & CO., LIMITED
LONDON AND MELBOURNE

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PREFACE

DANIEL DEFOE, the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, was born in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, in 1661. His father, a strong Free Churchman, intended him for the ministry. But Defoe was roving and adventurous, and for ever involving himself in difficulties. The reader will find Robinson Crusoe deploring this trait in himself, and showing how much quiet happiness it has cost him. Defoe took part in Monmouth's rebellion, and narrowly escaped being hanged. But he suffered other penalties for acts less foolish, being stood in the pillory and fined for writing a pamphlet, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, in which he ridiculed the persecuting spirit of his time. He was always writing upon questions of his day, and you will never find Defoe on the side of cruelty or wrong. Next to *Robinson Crusoe*, his best known book is the *History of the Plague of 1665*. He died, a poor man, in 1731.

Robinson Crusoe was founded on the true story of a seaman, one Alexander Selkirk who spent eight solitary months on the island of Juan Fernandez, making a coat and a cap of goat-skins, using a nail as a needle, getting fire by rubbing together two sticks, and in many other respects behaving precisely as did Robinson Crusoe.

Since *Robinson Crusoe* was published in 1719 it has been translated into every European language, and has run through hundreds of editions. Although innumerable stories of adventure have been written in imitation, it has never had a rival. As Sir Walter Scott truly said, "There is hardly an elf so devoid of imagination as not to have supposed for himself a solitary island in which he could act 'Robinson Crusoe,' were it but in a corner of the nursery."



"I was exceedingly surprised with the print of a man's naked foot,"
(See p. 113.)

ROBINSON CRUSOE

CHAPTER I

CRUSOE RUNS AWAY TO SEA.

I WAS born in the year 1632, in the city of York. Being the third son of the family, and not bred to any trade, my head began to be filled very early with rambling thoughts. My father, who was a retired merchant, designed me for the law ; but I would be satisfied with nothing but going to sea.

My father one day gave me serious and excellent counsel against what he foresaw was my design.

I was sincerely affected with this discourse ; and I resolved not to think of going abroad. But alas ! a few days wore it all off : and, in short, to prevent any of my father's further importunities, in a few weeks after I resolved to run quite away from him.

It was not till almost a year after this that I broke loose. But being one day at Hull, whither I went casually, and without any purpose of making an elopement at that time, and one of my companions then going to London by sea

in his father's ship, and prompting me to go with them, I consulted neither father nor mother any more, nor so much as sent them word of it; but left them to hear of it as they might, without asking God's blessing, or my father's, without any consideration of circumstances or consequences, and in an ill hour, God knows.

On the 1st September, 1651, I went on board. The ship had no sooner got out of the Humber than the wind began to blow, and the waves to rise, in a most frightful manner; and as I had never been at sea before, I was most inexpressibly sick in body and terrified in mind; I began now seriously to reflect upon what I had done, and how justly I was overtaken by the judgment of Heaven for wickedly leaving my father's house.

All this while the storm increased, and the sea, which I had never been upon before, went very high, though nothing like what I have seen many times since. I expected every wave would have swallowed us up, and in this agony of mind I made many vows and resolutions that if it would please God to spare my life this voyage, I would go directly home to my father, and never set foot into a ship again while I lived; that I would take his advice, and never run myself into such miseries as these any more.

These wise and sober thoughts continued during the storm, and indeed some time after ; but the next day, as the wind was abated, and the sea calmer, I began to be a little inured to it. However, I was very grave that day, being also a little sea-sick still ; but towards night the weather cleared up, the wind was quite over, and a charming fine evening followed : the sun went down perfectly clear, and rose so the next morning ; and having little or no wind, and a smooth sea, the sun shining upon it, the sight was, as I thought, the most delightful that I ever saw.

I had slept well in the night, and was now no more sea-sick, but very cheerful, and, alas ! with my miseries had gone all my repentance, all my reflections upon my past conduct, and all my resolutions for the future.

The sixth day of our being at sea we came into Yarmouth Roads ; the wind having been contrary and the weather calm, we had made but little way since the storm. Here we were obliged to come to an anchor, and here we lay, the wind continuing contrary, viz., at south-west, for seven or eight days. On the eighth day, in the morning, the wind increased, and we had all hands at work to strike our topmasts, and make everything snug and close, that the ship might ride as easy as possible. By noon the sea went

“ I stirred up and went to the pump and worked very heartily.”



very high indeed, and ere nightfall our ship rode forecastle in, shipped several seas, and we thought once or twice our anchor had come home.

By this time it blew a terrible storm indeed ; and now I began to see terror and amazement in the faces of even the seamen themselves. In the middle of the night one of the men roused me, and told me that we had sprung a leak, that there was four foot of water in the hold, and that I, who was able to do nothing before, was as well able to pump as another ; at which I stirred up and went to the pump, and worked very heartily. While this was doing, the master ordered us to fire a gun as a signal of distress. I, who knew nothing what that meant, was so surprised, that I fell down in a swoon. As this was a time when everybody had his own life to think of, no one minded me, or what was become of me ; but another man stepped up to the pump, and thrusting me aside with his foot, let me lie, thinking I had been dead ; and it was a great while before I came to myself.

We worked on ; but the water increasing in the hold, it was apparent that the ship would founder ; so the master continued firing guns for help ; and a light ship, who had rid it out just ahead of us, ventured a boat out to help us. It was with the utmost hazard they took us off.

It was to no purpose for them or us, after we were in the boat, to think of reaching their own ship; so all agreed to let her drive, and only to pull her in towards shore as much as we could; and our master promised them, that if the boat were staved upon the shore, he would make it good to their master; so partly rowing and partly driving, our boat went away to the northward, sloping towards the shore almost as far as Winterton-Ness.

We were not much more than a quarter of an hour out of our ship when we saw her sink.

While the men were yet labouring at the oar to bring the boat near the shore, we could see (when, our boat mounting the waves, we were able to see the shore) a great many people running along the strand to assist us when we should come near; but we made but slow way towards the shore; nor were we able to reach it, till being past the lighthouse at Winterton, the shore falls off to the westward, towards Cromer, and so the land broke off a little the violence of the wind. Here we got in, and, though not without much difficulty, got all safely on shore, and walked afterwards on foot to Yarmouth; where, as unfortunate men, we were used with great humanity, as well by the magistrates of the town, who assigned us good quarters, as by

the particular merchants and owners of ships ; and had money given us sufficient to carry us either to London or back to Hull, as we thought fit.

As to going home, it immediately occurred to me how I should be laughed at among the neighbours, and should be ashamed to see, not my father and mother only, but even everybody else. So I went on board a vessel bound to the coast of Africa ; or as the sailors vulgarly call it, a voyage to Guinea.

It was my lot, first of all, to fall into pretty good company in London ; I became acquainted with the master of a ship, who had been on the coast of Guinea, and who, having had very good success there, was resolved to go again. He, taking a fancy to my conversation, told me, that if I would go that voyage with him, I should be at no expense ; I should be his messmate and his companion ; and if I could carry anything with me, I should have all the advantage of it the trade would admit. I embraced the offer, and went the voyage with him, and carried a small adventure with me ; which, by the disinterested honesty of my friend the captain, I increased very considerably ; for I carried about forty pounds in such toys and trifles as the captain directed me to buy. This forty pounds I

mustered together by the assistance of some of my relations whom I corresponded with ; and who, I believe, got my father, or at least, my mother, to contribute so much as that to my first adventure. This voyage made me both a sailor and a merchant ; for I brought home five pounds nine ounces of gold dust for my adventures, which yielded me in London, on my return, almost three hundred pounds.

CHAPTER II

THE ESCAPE FROM THE MOORS

I WAS now set up for a Guinea trader, and my friend, to my great misfortune, dying soon after his arrival, I resolved to go the same voyage again, and I embarked in the same vessel with one who was his mate in the former voyage, and had now got the command of the ship. I carried only one hundred pounds of my new-gained capital, the balance being lodged with my friend's widow. Sailing between the Canary Islands and the African shore, we were surprised, in the grey of the morning, by a Turkish rover, of Sallee, who gave chase to us with all the sail she could make. About three in the afternoon he came up with us ; and bringing to, by mistake, just athwart our quarter, instead of athwart our stern, as he intended, we brought eight of our guns to bear on that side, and poured in a broadside upon him, which made him sheer off again, after returning our fire, and pouring in also his small shot from near two hundred men whom he had on board. However, we had not a

man touched, all our men keeping close. Laying us on board the next time upon our other quarter, he entered sixty men upon our decks, who immediately fell to cutting and hacking the sails and rigging. We plied them with small shot, half-pikes, powder-chests, and such like, and cleared our decks of them twice. However, to cut short this melancholy part of our story, our ship being disabled, and three of our men killed, and eight wounded, we were obliged to yield, and were carried all prisoners into Sallee, a port belonging to the Moors.

The usage I had there was not so dreadful as at first I apprehended; nor was I carried up the country to the emperor's court, as the rest of our men were, but was kept by the captain of the rover as his proper prize and made his slave, being young and nimble, and fit for his business.

After about two years, an odd circumstance presented itself, which put the old thought of making some attempt for my liberty into my head. My patron lying at home longer than usual without fitting out his ship, which, as I heard, was for want of money, he used constantly to take the long boat of our English ship, into which he had built a little state-room or cabin, and go out into the roads a-fishing, and as he always took me and a young Moresco with him, I became

very dexterous in catching fish, insomuch that sometimes he would send me with a Moor, one of his kinsmen, and the youth the Moresco, as they called him, to catch a dish of fish for him. It happened that he had appointed to go out in this boat, with two or three distinguished Moors, and had therefore sent on board the boat, overnight, a larger stock of provisions than ordinary and had ordered me to get ready three fusees, with powder and shot, for that they designed some sport of fowling as well as fishing.

I got all things ready as he directed, when, by and by, my patron came on board alone, and told me his guests had put off going, and ordered me, with a man and a boy, called Xury, as usual, to go out with the boat and catch them some fish.

This moment notions of deliverance darted into my thoughts, for now I found I was like to have a little ship at my command ; and my master being gone, I prepared to furnish myself, not for a fishing business, but for a voyage.

My first contrivance was to make a pretence to speak to this Moor, to get something for our subsistence on board ; for I told him we must not presume to eat of our patron's bread ; he said, that was true ; so he brought a large basket of rusk or biscuit, of their kind, and three jars of

fresh water, into the boat. I conveyed also a great lump of bees-wax into the boat, which weighed about half-a-hundredweight, with a parcel of twine or thread, a hatchet, a saw, and a hammer, all which were of great use to us afterwards, especially the wax, to make candles. Thus furnished with everything needful, we sailed out of port to fish.

After we had fished some time and caught nothing, for when I had fish on my hook I would not pull them up, that he might not see them, I said to the Moor: "This will not do; our master will not be served thus; we must stand farther off." He, thinking no harm, agreed; and being at the head of the boat, set the sails; and as I had the helm, I ran the boat near a league farther, and then brought to, as if I would fish. Then giving the boy the helm, I stepped forward to where the Moor was, and I took him by surprise, with my arm under his waist, and tossed him clean overboard into the sea. He rose immediately, and swam for the shore; and I make no doubt but he reached it with ease, for he was an excellent swimmer.

I turned now to the boy and said, "Xury, if you will be faithful to me, I will make you a great man, but if you will not swear, I must throw you into the sea too." The boy swore to



“ A Turkish rover, who gave chase to us with all the sail she could make.”

be faithful to me and to go all over the world with me.

While I was in view of the Moor that was swimming, I stood out directly to sea with the boat, rather stretching to windward, that they might think me gone towards the Straits' mouth.

But as soon as it grew dusk in the evening I changed my course, and steered directly south and by east, bending my course a little towards the east, that I might keep in with the shore ; and having a fair fresh gale of wind, and a smooth quiet sea, I made such sail, that I believe by the next day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, when I made the land, I could not be less than one hundred and fifty miles south of Sallee, quite beyond the Emperor of Morocco's dominions, or indeed of any other king thereabout for we saw no people.

As I had been one voyage to this coast before, I knew very well that the islands of the Canaries, and the Cape de Verd Islands also, lay not far from the coast.

Once or twice, in the daytime, I thought I saw the Pico of Teneriffe, being the top of the mountain Teneriffe, in the Canaries, and had a great mind to venture out in hopes of reaching thither ; but having tried twice, I was forced in again by contrary winds ; the sea also going too

high for my little vessel; so I resolved to pursue my first design, and keep along the shore.

After this stop we made on to the southward continually, for ten or twelve days, living very sparingly on our provisions, which began to abate very much, and going no oftener into shore than we were obliged to for fresh water. On one occasion when we had come to an anchor, under a little point of land, Xury calls to me that we had better go farther off the shore. "For," says he, "look yonder lies a dreadful monster on the side of that hillock, fast asleep." I looked where he pointed and saw a terrible great lion. I shot at the monster from the boat, breaking his leg. He started up on three legs and gave the most hideous roar that ever I heard. I shot again, wounding him in the head, whereupon he fell to the ground. Xury, who did not lack courage, jumped into the water, and taking a little gun in one hand, swam to the shore with the other, and coming close to the creature, put the muzzle of the piece to his ear, and killed him at the first shot.

We spent the day getting the hide off him, and spreading it on the top of our cabin; the sun effectually dried it in two days' time, and it afterwards served me to lie upon.

My design now, was to make the river Gambia,

“The lion started up on three legs and gave the most hideous roar that ever I heard.”



or Senegal ; that is to say, anywhere about the Cape de Verd, where I was in hopes to meet some European ship ; and if I did not, I knew not what course I had to take, but to seek for the islands or perish among the negroes. I knew that all the ships from Europe, which sailed either to the coast of Guinea, or to Brazil, or to the East Indies, made this Cape, or those islands ; and in a word I put the whole of my fortune upon this single point, either that I must meet with some ship, or must perish.

One afternoon when I was lying down in the cabin, Xury having the helm, on a sudden the boy cried out, “ Master, master, a ship with a sail ! ” I jumped out of the cabin, and immediately saw, not only the ship, but what she was, viz., that it was a Portuguese ship, and, as I thought, was bound to the Coast of Guinea, for negroes.

With all the sail I could make, I found I should not be able to come in their way ; but after I had crowded to the utmost, and began to despair, they, it seems, saw me by the help of their perspective glasses : so they shortened sail ; and in about three hours’ time I came up with them.

A Scotch sailor who was on board, called to me, and I answered him, and told him I was an Englishman, that I had made my escape

out of slavery from the Moors, at Sallee ; they then bade me come on board, and very kindly took me in, and all my goods.

I immediately offered all I had to the captain of the ship, as a return for my deliverance ; but he generously told me he would take nothing from me, but that all I had should be delivered safe to me when I came to the Brazils.

He had a very good voyage to the Brazils, and arrived in the Bay de Todos los Santos, or All Saints' Bay, in about twenty-two days after.

The generous treatment the captain gave me, I can never enough remember : he would take nothing of me for my passage, gave me forty ducats for the lion's skin ; everything I was willing to sell, he bought of me ; in a word I made about two hundred and twenty pieces of eight of all my cargo ; and with this stock, I went on shore in the Brazils. I should mention that the Captain took my boy Xury, undertaking to set him free in ten years if he turned Christian.

Seeing how well the planters lived, and how they got rich suddenly, I resolved, if I could get a licence to settle there, I would turn planter among them. To this purpose, getting a kind of letter of naturalization, I purchased as much land that was uncured as my money would reach.

I had a neighbour, a Portuguese of Lisbon,

but born of English parents, whose name was Wells, and in much such circumstances as I was. I call him my neighbour, because his plantation lay next to mine, and we went on very sociably together. My stock was but low, as well as his; and we rather planted for food than anything else, for about two years. However, we began to increase, and our land began to come into order; so that the third year we planted some tobacco, and made each of us a large piece of ground ready for planting canes the next year.

In the meantime, by the good offices of my kind friend the captain of the ship that took me up at sea, I received the money lying to my credit in London. His ship going there, with the letter of authority with which I had furnished him, he got from the English captain's widow my two hundred pounds. One-half of this he invested in English goods. I found means to sell them to a very great advantage; so that I might say I had more than four times the value of my first cargo and was now infinitely beyond my poor neighbour, I mean in the advancement of my plantation.

Having lived almost four years in the Brazils, and beginning to thrive and prosper very well upon my plantation, I had not only learned the language, but had contracted an acquaintance and friend-

“Looking over the charts of the sea-coast of America with him, we concluded that there was no inhabited country for us to have recourse to, till we came within the circle of the Carribee islands.”



ship among my fellow-planters, as well as among the merchants at St. Salvador, which was our port.

It happened, being in company with some merchants and planters of my acquaintance, and talking of the possibilities of trade with the Guinea Coast very earnestly, three of them came to me the next morning, to make a proposal to me ; and, after enjoining me to secrecy, they told me that they had a mind to fit out a ship to go to Guinea. The question was, whether I would go as their supercargo, in the ship, to manage the trading part ; and they offered me that I should have a share in the profit without providing any part of the stock.

I, that was born to be my own destroyer, could no more resist the offer than I could restrain my first rambling designs. In a word, I told them I would go with all my heart, if they would undertake to look after my plantation in my absence, and would dispose of it as I should direct if I miscarried. This they all engaged to do, and entered into writings or covenants to do so, in case of my death ; making the captain of the ship that saved my life, as before, my universal heir ; but obliging him to dispose of my effects as I had directed in my will ; one-half of the produce being to himself, and the other to be shipped to England.

I went on board in an evil hour again, the first of September, 1659, being the same day eight years that I went from my parents at Hull.

We passed the Line in about twelve days' time, and were, by our last observation, in seven degrees twenty-two minutes northern latitude, when a violent tornado, or hurricane, took us quite out of our knowledge. For twelve days together we could do nothing but drive, and, scudding, away before it, let it carry us whithersoever fate and the fury of the winds directed.

About the twelfth day, the weather abating a little, the master made an observation as well as he could. He found that he had got upon the coast of Guiana, or the north part of Brazil, beyond the river Amazon, towards that of the Oronoco, commonly called the Great River. Looking over the charts of the sea-coast of America with him, we concluded there was no inhabited country for us to have recourse to, till we came within the circle of the Carribee islands, and therefore resolved to stand away for Barbadoes ; which we might easily perform, as we hoped, in about fifteen days' sail ; whereas we could not possibly make our voyage to the coast of Africa, without some assistance, both to our ship and ourselves.

But in the latitude of twelve degrees eighteen

minutes a second storm came upon us, which carried us away with the same impetuosity westward, and drove us so out of the very way of all human commerce, that had all our lives been saved, as to the sea, we stood a greater chance of being devoured by savages than ever returning to our own country.

In this distress, the wind still blowing very hard, one of our men early in the morning cried out "Land!" and we had no sooner run out of the cabin to look out, in hopes of seeing whereabouts in the world we were, than the ship struck upon a sand, and in a moment, her motion being so stopped, the sea broke over her in such a manner that we expected we should all have perished immediately; and we were immediately driven into our close quarters, to shelter us from the very foam and spray of the sea.

In this distress, the mate of our vessel laid hold of the boat, and with the help of the rest of the men, they got her flung over the ship's side; and getting all into her, we let go, and committed ourselves, being eleven in number, to God's mercy, and the wild sea; for though the storm was abated considerably, yet the sea went dreadfully high upon the shore.

After we had rowed, or rather driven, about a league and a half, as we reckoned it, a raging

wave, mountain-like, came rolling astern of us, took us with such fury, that it overset the boat at once ; and separating us, as well from the boat as from one another, gave us time hardly to say, “ O God ! ” for we were all swallowed up in a moment.

Nothing can describe the confusion of thought which I felt, when I sank into the water ; for though I swam very well, yet I could not deliver myself from the waves so as to draw my breath, till that wave having driven me, or rather carried me, a vast way on towards the shore, and having spent itself, went back, and left me upon the land almost dry, but half dead with the water I took in. I had so much presence of mind, as well as breath left, that seeing myself nearer the main land than I expected, I got upon my feet, and endeavoured to make on towards the land as fast as I could, before another wave should return and take me up again ; but I soon found it was impossible to avoid it. Now as the waves were not so high as the first, being nearer land, I held my hold of pieces of rock till the wave abated and then fetched another run, which brought me so near the shore, that the next wave, though it went over me, yet did not so swallow me up as to carry me away ; and the next run I took, I got to the main land ; where, to my great

comfort, I clambered up the cliffs of the shore, and sat me down upon the grass, free from danger, and quite out of the reach of the water.

I was now landed, and safe on shore ; and began to look up and thank God that my life was saved, in a case wherein there was, some minutes before, scarcely any room to hope.

I began to look around me to see what kind of a place I was in, and what was next to be done ; and I soon found my comforts abate, and that, in a word, I had a dreadful deliverance ; for I was wet, had no clothes to shift me, nor anything either to eat or drink, to comfort me ; neither did I see any prospect before me, but that of perishing with hunger, or being devoured by wild beasts ; and that which was particularly afflicting to me was, that I had no weapon either to hunt and kill any creature for my sustenance, or to defend myself against any other creatures that might desire to kill me for theirs. In a word, I had nothing about me but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a little tobacco. Night coming upon me, I got into a thick bushy tree, and having been excessively fatigued, I fell asleep, and slept as comfortable as, I believe, few could have done in my condition ; and found myself much refreshed.

CHAPTER III

SHIPWRECKED ON THE DESERT ISLAND

WHEN I woke it was broad day, the weather clear, and the storm abated, so that the sea did not rage and swell as before ; but that which surprised me most was, that the ship was lifted off in the night from the sand where she lay, by the swelling of the tide, and was driven up almost as far as the first rock to which I had clung. This being within about a mile from the shore where I was, and the ship seeming to stand upright still, I wished myself on board, that at least I might save some necessary things for my use.

A little after noon I found the sea very calm, and the tide ebbed so far out, that I could come within a quarter of a mile of the ship : and I resolved, if possible, to get to it ; so I pulled off my clothes, for the weather was hot to extremity, and took the water : but when I came to the ship, my difficulty was still greater to know how to get on board : for as she lay aground, and

high out of the water, there was nothing in my reach to lay hold of. I swam round her twice, and the second time I spied a small piece of rope, which I wondered I did not see at first, hang down by the forechains so low, as that with great difficulty I got hold of it, and by the help of that rope got into the forecastle of the ship. Here I found that she lay so on the side of a bank of hard sand, or rather earth, that her stern lay lifted up upon the bank, and her head low, almost to the water. By this means, all her quarter was free, and all that was in that part was dry ; and, first, I found that all the ship's provisions were dry and untouched by the water ; and being very well disposed to eat, I went to the bread-room, and filled my pockets with biscuits, and ate it as I went about other things, for I had no time to lose. Now I wanted nothing but a boat to furnish myself with many things which I foresaw would be very necessary to me.

We had several spare yards, and two or three large spars of wood, and a spare topmast or two in the ship ; I resolved to fall to work with these, and flung as many overboard as I could manage for their weight, tying every one with a rope that they might not drive away. When this was done I went down the ship's side, and pulling them to me, I tied four of them fast

together at both ends, as well as I could, in the form of a raft, and laying two or three short pieces of plank upon them, cross-ways, I found I could walk upon it very well, but that it was not able to bear any great weight, the pieces being too light: so I went to work, and with the carpenter's saw I cut a spare topmast into three lengths, and added them to my raft, with a great deal of labour and pains. But the hope of furnishing myself with necessaries, encouraged me to go beyond what I should have been able to have done upon another occasion.

My raft was now strong enough to bear any reasonable weight. My next care was what to load it with, and how to preserve what I laid upon it from the surf of the sea; but I was not long considering this. I first laid all the planks or boards upon it that I could get, and having considered well what I most wanted, I got three of the seamen's chests, which I had broken open and emptied, and lowered them down upon my raft; these I filled with provisions. Then I looked for tools to work with on shore: and it was after long searching that I found the carpenter's chest, which was indeed a very useful prize to me, and much more valuable than a ship-lading of gold would have been at that time. I got it down to my raft, even whole as it was,



“ I clambered up the cliffs of the shore, and sat me down upon the grass, free from danger, and quite out of reach of the water.”

without losing time to look into it, for I knew in general what it contained.

My next care was for some ammunition and arms. There were two very good fowling-pieces in the great cabin, and two pistols; these I secured first, with some powder-horns and a small bag of shot, and two old rusty swords. I knew there were three barrels of powder in the ship, and with much search I found them, two of them dry and good, the third had taken water. Those two I got on my raft, with the arms. And now I thought myself pretty well freighted, and began to think how I should get on shore with them, having neither sail, oar, nor rudder; and the least capful of wind would have upset all my navigation. I hoped to find some creek or river which I might make use of as a port to get to land with my cargo.

As I imagined, so it was; there appeared before me a little opening of the land, and I found a strong current of the tide set into it; so I guided my raft, as well as I could, to get into the middle of the stream.

At length I spied a little cove on the right shore of the creek, to which, with great pain and difficulty, I guided my raft, and at last got so near, as that, reaching ground with my oar, I could thrust her directly in; and there, I lay till

the water ebbed away, and left my raft and all my cargo safe on shore.

My next work was to view the country, and seek a proper place for my habitation, and where to stow my goods, to secure them from whatever might happen.

There was a hill, not above a mile from me, which rose up very steep and high, and which seemed to overtop some other hills, which lay as in a ridge from it, northward. From the top of this hill I saw my fate, to my great affliction, viz., that I was in an island, environed in every way with the sea, no land to be seen, except some rocks, which lay a great way off, and two small islands, less than this, which lay about three leagues to the west.

I now began to consider that I might yet get a great many things out of the ship, which would be useful to me, and particularly some of the rigging and sails, and such other things as might come to land ; and I resolved to make another voyage on board the vessel, if possible. And as I knew that the first storm that blew must necessarily break her all in pieces, I resolved to set all other things apart, till I got everything out of the ship that I could get.

I got on board the ship as before, and prepared a second raft ; and having had experience of the

first, I neither made this so unwieldy, nor loaded it so hard, but yet I brought away several things very useful to me ; as, first, in the carpenter's stores, I found two or three bags of nails and spikes, a great screw-jack, a dozen or two of hatchets ; and, above all, that most useful thing called a grindstone. All these I secured together, with several things belonging to the gunner ; particularly, two or three iron crows, and two barrels of musket bullets, seven muskets, and another fowling-piece, with some small quantity of powder more ; a large bag full of small shot, and a great roll of sheet lead ; but this last was so heavy, I could not hoist it up to get it over the ship's side. Beside these things, I took all the men's clothes that I could find, and a spare fore-top-sail, a hammock, and some bedding ; and with this I loaded my second raft, and brought them all safe on shore, to my very great comfort.

Having got my second cargo on shore—though I was fain to open the barrels of powder and bring them by parcels, for they were too heavy, being large casks—I went to work to make a little tent, with the sails, and some poles which I cut for that purpose ; and into this tent I brought everything that I knew would spoil either with rain or sun ; and I piled all the



“ I loaded my second raft, and brought all these goods safe on shore, to my very great comfort.”

empty chests and casks up in a circle round the tent to fortify it from any sudden attempt either from man or beast.

I had the biggest magazine of all kinds now that ever was laid up, I believe, for one man ; but I was not satisfied still ; for while the ship sat upright in that posture, I thought I ought to get everything out of her that I could ; so every-day, at low water, I went on board, and brought away something or other. One visit I discovered a locker containing about thirty-six pounds value in money, some European coin, some pieces of eight, some gold, and some silver.

I had been now thirteen days ashore, and had been eleven times on board the ship ; in which time I had brought away all that one pair of hands could well be supposed capable to bring : though I believe verily, had the calm weather held, I should have brought away the whole ship, piece by piece, but preparing the twelfth time, to go on board, I found the wind began to rise, and before it was quite high water it blew a storm.

But I was got home to my little tent, where I lay, with all my wealth about me very secure. It blew very hard all that night, and in the morning, when I looked out, behold no more ship was to be seen ! I was a little surprised, but recovered

myself with this satisfactory reflection, viz., that I had lost no time, nor abated no diligence, to get everything out of her that could be useful to me, and that, indeed, there was little left in her that I was able to bring away, if I had had more time.

My thoughts were now wholly employed about securing myself either against savages, if any should appear, or wild beasts, if any were in the island. I resolved upon making myself both a cave and a tent ; the manner and description of which, it may not be improper to give an account of.

I soon found the place I was in was not for my settlement, particularly because it was upon a low, moorish ground, near the sea, and I believe it would not be wholesome ; and more particularly because there was no fresh water near it : so I resolved to find a more healthy and convenient spot of ground.

In search for this, I found a little plain on the side of a rising hill, whose front towards this little plain was as steep as a house-side, so that nothing could come down upon me from the top. On the side of this rock, there was a hollow place, worn a little way in, like the entrance or door of a cave ; but there was not really any cave, or way into the rock, at all.

“ I took the kid in my arms, and carried it over my pale.”



On the flat of the green, just before this hollow place, I resolved to pitch my tent. This plain was not above one hundred yards broad, and about twice as long, and lay like a green before my door; and, at the end of it, descended irregularly every way down into the low ground by the seaside. It was on the N.N.W. side of the hill; so that it was sheltered from the heat every day, till it came to a W. and by S. sun or thereabouts, which, in those countries, is near the setting.

Before I set up my tent, I drew a half-circle before the hollow-place, which took in about ten yards in its semi-diameter from the rock, and twenty yards in its diameter from its beginning and ending.

In this half-circle I pitched two rows of strong stakes, driving them into the ground till they stood very firm like piles, the biggest end being out of the ground, about five feet and a half, and sharpened on the top. The two rows did not stand above six inches from one another.

The entrance into this place I made to be not by a door, but by a short ladder to go over the top; which ladder, when I was in, I lifted over after me; and so I was completely fenced in and fortified from all the world, and consequently slept secure in the night, which otherwise

I could not have done ; though, as it appeared afterwards, there was no need for all this caution against the enemies that I apprehended danger from.

Into this fence, or fortress, with infinite labour, I carried all my riches, and I made a large tent, which, to preserve me from the rains, I made double, viz., one smaller tent within, and one larger tent above it, and covered the uppermost with a large tarpaulin, which I had saved among the sails.

And now I lay no more for a while in the bed which I had brought on shore, but in a hammock, which was indeed a very good one, and belonged to the mate of the ship.

Into this tent I brought all my provisions, and everything that would spoil by the wet ; and having thus enclosed all my goods, I made up the entrance, which till now I had left open, and so passed and repassed, as I said, by a short ladder.

When I had done this I began to work my way into the rock, and bringing all the earth and stones that I dug down out through my tent, I laid them up within my fence in the nature of a terrace, so that it raised the ground within about a foot and a half ; and thus I made me a cave, just behind my tent, which served me

like a cellar to my house. It cost me much labour and many days, before all these things were brought to perfection ; and therefore, I must go back to some other things which happened meanwhile.

In the interval of time while this was doing, I went out at least once every day with my gun. One day I killed a she-goat, which had a little kid by her, which she gave suck to, which grieved me heartily ; but when the old one fell, the kid stood stock still by her, till I came and took her up ; and not only so, but when I carried the old one with me upon my shoulders, the kid followed me quite to my enclosure ; upon which I laid down the dam, and took the kid in my arms, and carried it over my pale, in hopes to have bred it up tame ; but it would not eat ; so I was forced to kill it, and eat it myself. These two supplied me with flesh a great while, for I ate sparingly, and preserved my provisions (my bread especially) as much as possibly I could.

It was, by my account, the 30th of September when I first set foot upon this horrid island.

After I had been there about ten or twelve days, it came into my thoughts that I should lose my reckoning of time for want of books, and pen and ink, and should even forget the Sabbath days from the working days : but, to

prevent this, I cut it with my knife into a large post, in capital letters ; and making it into a great cross, I set it up on the shore where I first landed, viz., "I came on shore here on the 30th of September, 1659." Upon the sides of this square post I cut every day a notch with my knife, and every seventh notch was as long again as the rest, and every first day of the month as long again as that long one : and thus I kept my calendar, or weekly, monthly, and yearly reckoning of time.

It should be observed that among the many things which I brought out of the ship, I got several things that I omitted to set down, including three very good Bibles, and several other books, all which I carefully secured. And I must not forget, that we had in the ship a dog, and two cats. I carried both the cats with me ; and as for the dog, he jumped out of the ship himself, and swam on shore the day after I went on shore with my first cargo, and was a trusty servant to me for many years : I wanted nothing that he could fetch me, not any company that he could make up to me, I only wanted to have him talk to me, but that he could not do.

The want of tools made every work I did go on heavily : and it was nearly a whole year

before I had entirely finished my little pale, or surrounded my habitation. But what need I have been concerned at the tediousness of anything I had to do, seeing I had time enough to do it in ; nor had I any other employment, if that had been over, at least that I could foresee, except the ranging the island to seek for food ; which I did more or less, every day.

I have already described my habitation, which was a tent under the side of a rock, surrounded with a strong pale of posts and cables ; but I might now rather call it a wall, for I raised a kind of wall against it of turfs, about two feet thick on the outside : and after some time (I think it was a year and a half) I raised rafters from it, leaning to the rock, and thatched or covered it with boughs of trees, and such things as I could get, to keep out the rain ; which I found, at some times of the year, very violent.

I have already observed how I brought all my goods into this pale, and into the cave which I had made behind me. But I must observe, too, that at first this was a confused heap of goods, which, as they lay in no order, so they took up all my place ; I had no room to turn myself : so I set myself to enlarge my cave, and work farther into the earth ; for it was a loose sandy rock, which yielded easily to the

labour I bestowed upon it ; and when I found I was pretty safe as to the beasts of prey, I worked sideways, to the right hand, into the rock, and then turning to the right again, worked quite out, and made me a door to come out in the outside of my pale or fortification.

This gave me not only egress and regress, as it were a back way to my tent and to my storehouse, but gave me room to stow my goods.

And now it was that I began to keep a journal of every day's employment ; for, indeed, at first, I was of too much hurry, and not only as to labour, but in much discomposure of mind ; and my journal would, too, have been full of many dull things. But having got over these things in some measure, and having settled my household stuff and habitation, made me a table and a chair, and all about me as handsome as I could, I began to keep my journal ; of which I shall here give you some extracts as long as it lasted ; for, having no more ink, I was forced to leave it off.

CHAPTER IV

CRUSOE'S JOURNAL

NOV. 4.—This morning I began to order my times of work, of going out with my gun, time to sleep, and time of diversion; viz., every morning I walked out with my gun for two or three hours, if it did not rain; then employed myself to work till about eleven o'clock; then eat what I had to live on; and from twelve to two I lay down to sleep, the weather being excessively hot; and then, in the evening, to work again. The working part of this day and the next was wholly employed in making my table, for I was as yet but a very sorry workman: though time and necessity made me a complete natural mechanic soon after, as I believe they would any one else.

Nov. 17.—This day I began to dig behind my tent, into the rock, to make room for any further convenience.

NOTE.—Three things I wanted exceedingly for this work, viz., a pickaxe, a shovel, and a

wheelbarrow, or basket : so I desisted from my work and began to consider how to supply these wants, and make me some tools. As for pickaxe, I made use of the iron crows, which were proper enough, though heavy : but the next thing was a shovel or spade ; this was so absolutely necessary that, indeed, I could do nothing effectually without it ; but what kind of one to make I knew not.

Nov. 18.—The next day, in searching the woods, I found a tree of that wood, or like it, which, in the Brazils, they call the iron tree, from its exceeding hardness : of this, with great labour, and almost spoiling my axe, I cut a piece ; and brought it home, too, with difficulty enough, for it was exceeding heavy. The excessive hardness of the wood, and my having no other way, made me a long while upon this machine : for I worked it effectually by little and little, into the form of a shovel or spade ; the handle exactly shaped like ours in England, only that the board part having no iron shod upon it at the bottom, it would not last me so long ; however, it served well enough for the uses which I had occasion to put it to ; but never was a shovel, I believe, made after that fashion or so long in making.

Nov. 23.—My other work having now stood





"The goats all faced about upon the dog."

still, because of my making these tools, when they were finished I went on ; and working every day, as my strength and time allowed, I spent eighteen days entirely in widening and deepening my cave, that it might hold my goods commodiously.

Dec. 17.—From this day to the 20th, I placed shelves, and knocked up nails on the posts, to hang everything up that could be hung up : and now I began to be in some order within doors.

Dec. 20.—I carried everything into the cave, and began to furnish my house and set up some pieces of boards, like a dresser, to order my victuals upon ; but boards began to be very scarce with me ; also I made me another table.

Dec. 28, 29, 30, 31.—Great heats and no breeze ; so that there was no stirring abroad, except in the evening, for food ; this time I spent in putting all my things in order within doors.

Jan. 1.—Very hot still ; but I went abroad early and late with my gun, and lay still in the middle of the day. This evening, going farther into the valleys which lay towards the centre of the islands, I found there were plenty of goats, though exceedingly shy, and hard to come at ; however, I resolved to try if I could not bring my dog to hunt them down. Accordingly,

the next day, I went with my dog, and set him upon the goats: but I was mistaken, for they all faced about upon the dog: and he knew his danger too well, for he would not come near them.

Jan. 3.—I began my fence or wall; which being still jealous of my being attacked by somebody, I resolved to make very thick and strong.

In the middle of all my labours it happened, that in rummaging my things I found a little bag, which had been filled with corn, for the feeding of poultry. What little remainder of corn had been in the bag was all devoured by the rats, and I saw nothing in the bag but husks and dust: and being willing to have the bag for some other use, I shook the husks of corn out of it, on one side of my fortification, under the rock.

It was a little before the great rain now mentioned, that I threw this stuff away; about a month after, I saw some few stalks of something green shooting out of the ground. I was perfectly astonished, when, after a longer time, I saw about ten or twelve ears come out, which were perfect green barley, of the same kind as our European, nay, of our English barley.

I carefully saved the ears of this corn, you may

be sure, in their season, which was about the end of June ; and laying up every corn, I resolved to sow them all again ; hoping, in time, to have some quantity sufficient to supply me with bread. But it was not till the fourth year that I could allow myself the least grain of this corn to eat, and even then but sparingly, as I shall show afterwards in its order ; for I lost all that I sowed the first season, by not observing the proper time ; as I sowed just before the dry season, so that it never came up at all, at least not as it would have done : of which in its place.

Besides this barley, there were, as above, twenty to thirty stalks of rice, which I preserved with the same care ; and whose use was of the same kind, or to the same purpose, viz., to make me bread, or rather food ; for I found ways to cook it up without baking, though I did that also after some time.—But to return to my Journal.

I worked excessively hard these three or four months, to get my wall done ; and the 14th of April I closed it up.

April 16.—I finished the ladder ; so I went up with the ladder to the top, and then pulled it up after me, and let it down in the inside ; this was a complete enclosure to me ; for within I had room enough, and nothing could come at

“The noise of the falling rock awaked me, as it were ; and rousing me from the stupefied condition I was in, filled me with horror, and I thought of nothing but the hill falling upon my tent and my household goods.”



me from without, unless it could first mount my wall.

The very next day after this wall was finished, I had almost all my labour overthrown at once, and myself killed; the case was thus: As I was busy in the inside of it, behind my tent, just at the entrance into my cave, I was terribly frightened by earth tumbling down from the roof of my cave. Fearing that I might be buried alive I ran to my ladder and climbed over my wall, when I realized that there was an appalling earthquake.

I was so much amazed with the thing itself that I was like one dead or stupefied; and the motion of the earth made my stomach sick, like one that was tossed at sea: but the noise of the falling of the rock awaked me, as it were; and rousing me from the stupefied condition I was in, filled me with horror, and I thought of nothing but the hill falling upon my tent and my household goods, and burying all at once; this sank my very soul within me a second time.

After the third shock was over, and I felt no more for some time, I began to take courage.

June 16.—Going down to the seaside, I found a large tortoise, or turtle. This was the first I had seen; which, it seems, was only to my misfortune, not any defect of the place or

scarcity ; for had I happened to be on the other side of the island, I might have had hundreds of them every day, as I found afterwards ; but perhaps had paid dear enough for them.

June 17 I spent in cooking the turtle. I found in her three score eggs ; and her flesh was to me, at that time, the most savoury and pleasant that I ever tasted in my life ; having no flesh, but of goats and fowls, since I landed in this horrid place.

June 18.—Rained all day, and I stayed within. I thought at this time the rain felt cold, and I was somewhat chilly ; which I knew was not usual in that latitude.

June 19.—Very ill, and shivering, as if the weather had been cold.

June 20.—No rest all night ; violent pains in my head, and feverish.

June 21.—Very ill ; frightened almost to death with the apprehensions of my sad condition, to be sick, and no help ; prayed to God, for the first time since the storm off Hull ; but scarce knew what I said, or why, my thoughts being all confused.

June 22.—A little better ; but under dreadful apprehensions of sickness.

June 23.—Very bad again ; cold and shivering, and then a violent headache.

June 24.—Much better.

June 25.—An ague very violent ; the fit held me seven hours ; cold fit, and hot, with faint sweats after it.

June 26.—Better ; and having no victuals to eat, took my gun, but found myself very weak ; however, I killed a she-goat, and with much difficulty got it home, and broiled some of it, and ate. I would have stewed it, and made some broth, but had no pot.

June 27.—The ague again so violently that I lay a-bed, all day, and neither ate nor drank. I was ready to perish for thirst ; but so weak, I had not the strength to stand up, or get myself any water to drink. Prayed to God again, but was light-headed ; and when I was not, I was so ignorant that I knew not what to say ; only lay and cried, “ Lord, look upon me ! Lord, pity me ! Lord, have mercy upon me ! ” I suppose I did nothing else for two or three hours ; till the fit wearing off, I fell asleep, and did not wake till far in the night.

When I awoke I found myself much refreshed, but weak, and exceeding thirsty ; however, as I had no water in my whole habitation, I was forced to lie till morning.

The 30th was my well day ; and I went abroad with my gun, but did not care to travel too far.

“Going down to the seaside, I found a large tortoise, or turtle.”



I killed a seafowl or two, something like a brand goose, and brought them home, but was not very forward to eat them ; so I ate some more of the turtle's eggs, which were very good.

I was not so well the next day, which was the 1st of July, as I hoped I should have been ; for I had a little of the cold fit, but it was not much.

July 4.—In the morning I took the Bible ; and beginning at the New Testament, I began seriously to read it ; and imposed upon myself to read awhile every morning and every night ; not binding myself to the number of chapters, but as long as my thoughts should engage me.

It was on the 15th of July that I began to take a more particular survey of the island itself. I went up the creek first, where, as I hinted, I brought my raft on shore. I found, after I came about two miles up, that the tide did not flow any higher ; and that it was no more than a little brook of running water, very fresh and good : but this being the dry season, there was hardly any water in some parts of it ; at least, not any stream. On the banks of this brook I found many pleasant savannahs or meadows, plain, smooth, and covered with grass ; and on the rising parts of them, next to the higher

grounds (where the water, as it might be supposed, never overflowed), I found a great deal of tobacco, green, and growing to a very great and strong stalk: and there were divers other plants, which I had no knowledge of.

The next day, the 16th, I went up the same way again; and after going something farther than I had gone the day before, I found the brook and the savannahs begin to cease, and the country become more woody than before. In this part I found different fruits; and particularly I found melons upon the ground in great abundance, and grapes upon the trees; the vines, indeed, had spread over the trees, and the clusters of grapes were now just in their prime, very ripe and rich. This was a surprising discovery, and I was exceedingly glad of them. I found an excellent use for these grapes; and that was to cure or dry them in the sun, and keep them as dried grapes or raisins are kept; which I thought would be as wholesome and as agreeable to eat, when no grapes were to be had. As I found that I could not carry the grapes without spoiling them, I gathered a large number and hung them in clusters upon the out branches of adjacent trees. As raisins they could be transported easily and without damage.

Having spent three days in this journey, I

came home, so I must now call my tent and my cave.

When I came back from this journey, I began to consider removing my habitation to this fruitful part of the island.

I was so enamoured of this place, that I spent much of my time there for the whole remaining part of the month of July; and though, upon second thoughts, I resolved not to remove, yet I built me a little kind of a bower, and surrounded it at a distance with a strong fence, being a double hedge, as high as I could reach, well staked, and filled between with brushwood. Here I lay very secure sometimes two or three nights together; always going over it with a ladder, as before: so that I fancied now I had my country and my seacoast house. This work took me up to the beginning of August.

Sept. 30.—I was now come to the unhappy anniversary of my landing: I cast up the notches on my post, and found I had been on shore three hundred and sixty-five days. I kept this day as a solemn fast! setting it apart for religious exercise. A little after this, my ink beginning to fail me, I contented myself to use it more sparingly; and to write down only the most remarkable events of my life.

While my corn was growing, I made a little

discovery, which was of use to me afterwards. As soon as the rains were over, and the weather began to settle, which was about the month of November, I made a visit up the country to my bower; where, though I had not been for some months, yet I found all things just as I had left them. The circle or double hedge that I had made was not only firm and entire, but the stakes which I had cut out of some trees that grew thereabouts, were all shot out and grown with long branches. I was very well pleased, to see the young trees grow; and I pruned them, and led them to grow as much alike as I could: and it is scarce credible how beautiful a figure they grew into in three years: so that, though the hedge made a circle of about twenty-five yards in diameter, yet the trees, soon covered it, and it was a complete shade, sufficient to lodge under all the dry season. This made me resolve to cut some more stakes, and make me a hedge like this, in a semicircle round my wall (I mean that of my first dwelling), which I did: and placing the trees or stakes in a double row, at about eight yards distance from my fence, they grew presently; and were at first a fine cover to my habitation, and afterwards served for a defence also; as I shall observe in its order.

CHAPTER V

JACK OF ALL TRADES

I FOUND now that the seasons of the year might generally be divided, not into summer and winter as in Europe, but into the rainy seasons and the dry seasons, which were generally thus: From the middle of February to the middle of April, rainy; the sun being then on or near the equinox. From the middle of April till the middle of August, dry; the sun being then north of the Line. From the middle of August till the middle of October, rainy; the sun being then come back to the Line. From the middle of October till the middle of February, dry; the sun being then to the south of the Line.

After I had found, by experience, the ill consequences of being abroad in the rain, I took care to furnish myself with provisions beforehand, that I might not be obliged to go out; and I sat within doors as much as possible during the wet months. In this time I found much employment making baskets, using twigs

of that tree from which I cut my stakes. In one of my journeys my dog surprised a young kid and seized upon it ; and I running to take hold of it, caught it and saved it alive from the dog. I had a great mind to bring it home if I could ; for I had often been musing whether it might not be possible to get a kid or two, and so raise a breed of tame goats, which might supply me with food when my powder and shot were all spent. I made a collar for this little creature, and with a string which I had made of some rope yarn, which I always carried about me, I led him along, though with some difficulty, till I came to my bower, and there I enclosed him.

In time the creature became so loving, so gentle, and so fond, that it was from that time one of my domestics also, and would never leave me afterwards.

In the months of November and December I expected my crop of barley and rice. The ground I had manured or dug up for them was not great ; for, as I observed, my seed of each was not more than half a peck, having lost one whole crop by sowing in the dry season : but now my crop promised very well ; when, on a sudden, I found I was in danger of losing it again by enemies of several sorts, which it was scarce possible to keep from it ; as, first, the goats, and

wild creatures which I called hares, who, tasting the sweetness of the blade, lay in it night and day, as soon as it came up, and ate it so close, that it could get no time to shoot up into stalk.

I saw no remedy for this, but by making an enclosure about it with a hedge, which I did with a great deal of toil ; and the more, because it required speed. However, as my arable land was but small, suited to my crop, I got it tolerably well fenced in about three weeks' time ; and shooting some of the creatures in the daytime, I set my dog to guard it at night, tying him up to a stake at the gate, where he would stand and bark all night long ; so in a little time the enemies forsook the place, and the corn grew very strong and well, and began to ripen apace.

But as the beasts ruined me before, while my corn was in the blade, so the birds were likely to ruin me now, when it was in the ear ; for going along by the place to see how it throve, I saw my little crop surrounded with fowls, I knew not of how many sorts, who stood, as it were, watching till I should be gone. I immediately let fly among them, for I always had my gun with me, and killed three of them. I took them up, and served them as we serve notorious thieves in England, viz., hanged them in chains, for a terror to others. It is impossible to ima-

gine that this should have such an effect as it had ; for the fowls not only never came to the corn, but, in short, they forsook all that part of the island, and I could never see a bird near the place as long as my scarecrows hung there. This I was very glad of, you may be sure ; and about the latter end of December, which was our second harvest of the year, I reaped my corn.

Within doors, that is, when it rained, and I could not go out, I found employment making myself some earthen vessels, which indeed I wanted much, but knew not where to come at them ; however, considering the heat of the climate, I did not doubt but if I could find out any clay, I might botch up some such pot as might, being dried in the sun, be hard and strong enough to bear handling, and to hold anything that was dry, and required to be kept so ; and as this was necessary in preparing corn, meal, etc., which was the thing I was upon, I resolved to make some as large as I could, and fit only to stand like jars, to hold what should be put into them.

It would make the reader pity me, or rather laugh at me, to tell how many awkward ways I took to raise this paste ; what odd, misshapen ugly things I made ; how many of them fell in, and how many fell out, the clay not being stiff



“ I gathered a large number of grapes and hung them in clusters upon the out branches of adjacent trees.”

enough to bear its own weight ; and, in a word, how, after having laboured hard to find the clay, to dig it, to temper it, to bring it home, and work it, I could not make above two large earthen ugly things (I cannot call them jars) in about two months' labour.

But all this would not answer my end, which was to get an earthen pot to hold liquids, and bear the fire, which none of these could do. It happened some time after, making a pretty large fire for cooking my meat, when I went to put it out after I had done with it, I found a broken piece of one of my earthenware vessels in the fire, burnt as hard as a stone, and red as a tile. I was agreeably surprised to see it ; and said to myself that certainly they might be made to burn whole, if they would burn broken.

This set me to study how to order my fire, so as to make it burn some pots. I had no notion of a kiln, such as the potters burn in, or of glazing them with lead, though I had some lead to do it with ; but I placed three pipkins and two or three pots in a pile, one upon another, and placed my firewood all round it, with a great heap of embers under them. I plied the fire with fresh fuel round the outside, and upon the top, till I saw pots in the inside red-hot quite through, and observed that they did not crack

at all ; when I saw them clear red, I let them stand in that heat about five or six hours, till I found one of them, though it did not crack, did melt or run ; for the sand which was mixed with the clay melted by the violence of the heat, and would have run into glass, if I had gone on ; so I slacked my fire gradually, till the pots began to abate of the red colour ; and watching them all night, that I might not let the fire abate too fast, in the morning I had three very good, I will not say handsome, pipkins, and two other earthen pots, as hard burnt as could be desired ; and one of them perfectly glazed with the running of the sand. After this I made every kind of earthenware I needed, but I cannot praise the shapes of them.

In the third year, my stock of corn increasing, I really wanted to build my barns bigger ; I wanted a place to lay it up in ; for the increase of the corn now yielded me so much, that I had of the barley about twenty bushels, and of rice as much, or more, insomuch that now I resolved to begin to use it freely ; for my bread had been quite gone a great while ; I resolved also to see what quantity would be sufficient for me a whole year, and to sow but once a year.

Upon the whole, I found that the forty bushels of barley and rice were much more than I could

consume in a year ; so I resolved to sow just the same quantity every year that I sowed the last, in hopes that such a quantity would fully provide me with bread, etc.

All the while these things were doing, you may be sure my thoughts ran many times upon the prospect of land which I had seen from the other side of the island ; and I was not without some secret wishes that I was on shore there ; fancying, that seeing the main land, and an inhabited country, I might find some way or other to convey myself farther, and perhaps at last find some means of escape. Then I thought I would go and look at our ship's boat, which was blown up upon the shore a great way, in the storm, when we were first cast away. She lay nearly where she did at first, but not quite, having turned by the force of the waves and the winds, almost bottom upward, against a high ridge of beachy rough sand ; but no water about her as before. If I had had hands to have refitted her, and to have launched her into the water, the boat would have done very well, and I might have gone back into the Brazils with her easily enough ; but I might have foreseen that I could no more turn her and set her upright upon her bottom than I could remove the island.



“After this I made every kind of earthenware I needed, but I cannot praise the shapes of them.”

At length I began to think whether it was not possible to make myself a canoe, or periagua, such as the natives of those climates make, even without tools, or, as I might say, without hands, of the trunk of a great tree. I felled a cedar tree, and I questioned much whether Solomon ever had such a one for the building of the Temple at Jerusalem; it was five feet ten inches diameter at the lower part next the stump, and four feet eleven inches diameter at the end of twenty-two feet, where it lessened and then parted into branches. It was not without infinite labour that I felled this tree; I was twenty days hacking and hewing at the bottom, and fourteen more getting the branches and limbs, and the vast spreading head of it, cut off; after this, it cost me a month to shape it and dub it to a proportion, and to something like the bottom of a boat, that it might swim upright as it ought to do. It cost me near three months more to clear the inside, and work it out so as to make an exact boat of it; this I did, indeed, without fire, by mere mallet and chisel, and by the dint of hard labour, till I had brought it to be a very handsome periagua, and big enough to have carried me and all my cargo.

But all my devices to get it into the water failed me; though they cost an inexpressible

labour too, for I could no more stir the canoe than I could the other boat.

This grieved me heartily; and now I saw, though too late, the folly of beginning a work before we count the cost, and before we judge rightly of our own strength to go through with it.

In the middle of this work, I finished my fourth year in this place, and kept my anniversary with the same devotion and with as much comfort as before.

I began now to consider about putting the few rags I had which I called clothes, into some order. I had saved the skins of all the creatures that I killed, I mean four-footed ones; and I had hung them up, stretched out with sticks, in the sun, by which means some of them were so dry and hard that they were fit for little, but others I found very useful. The first thing I made of these was a great cap for my head, with the hair on the outside, to shoot off the rain; and this I performed so well, that after this I made me a suit of clothes wholly of the skins, that is to say, a waistcoat, and breeches open at the knees, and both loose; for they were rather wanted to keep me cool than warm.

After this I spent a great deal of time and pains to make me an umbrella. I made one and

“ It cost me a month to shape it and dub it to a proportion, and to something like the bottom of a boat.”



covered it with skins, the hair upwards, so that it cast off the rain like a pent-house, and kept off the sun so effectually that I could walk out in the hottest of the weather with greater advantage than I could before in the coolest ; and when I had no need of it, could close it and carry it under my arm.

Thus I lived mighty comfortably, my mind being entirely composed by resigning to the will of God, and throwing myself wholly upon the disposal of His providence.

I cannot say that after this, for five years, any extraordinary thing happened to me, but I lived on in the same course, in the same posture and place, just as before ; the chief things I was employed in, besides my yearly labour of planting my barley and rice, and curing my raisins, of both which I always kept up just enough to have sufficient stock of one year's provision beforehand ; I say, besides this yearly labour, and my daily pursuit of going out with my gun, I had one labour, to make me a canoe, which at last I finished ; so that by digging a canal to it six feet wide, and four feet deep, I brought it into the creek, almost half a mile.

However, though my little periagua was finished, yet the size of it was not at all answerable to the design which I had in view when I

made the first ; I mean, of venturing over to the *terra firma*, where it was above forty miles broad ; accordingly, the smallness of my boat assisted to put an end to that design, and now I thought no more of it.

In a happy government of my temper I remained near a year, lived a very sedate, retired life, as you may well suppose ; and my thoughts being very much composed as to my condition, and fully comforted in resigning myself to the dispositions of Providence, I thought I lived really very happy in all things, except that of society.

I improved myself in this time in all the mechanic exercises which my necessities put me upon applying myself to ; and I believe I could, upon occasion, have made a very good carpenter, especially considering how few tools I had.

Besides this, I arrived at an unexpected perfection in my earthenware, and contrived well enough to make them with a wheel, which I found infinitely easier and better ; because I made things round and shapeable, which before were filthy things indeed to look upon.

CHAPTER VI

THE FOOTPRINT ON THE SANDS

BEING now in the eleventh year of my residence, and my ammunition growing low, I set myself to study some art to trap and snare the goats, to see whether I could not catch some of them alive. I dug several large pits in the earth, in places where I had observed the goats used to feed, and over those pits I placed hurdles, of my own making too, with a great weight upon them. I set three traps in one night, and going the next morning, I found in one three kids, a male and two females. Taking them one by one, I tied them with strings together, and with some difficulty brought them all home.

It was a good while before they would feed ; but throwing them some sweet corn, it tempted them, and they began to be tame. And now I found that if I expected to supply myself with goats' flesh when I had no powder or shot left, breeding some up tame was my only way ; when, perhaps. I might have them about my

house like a flock of sheep. But then it occurred to me that I must keep the tame from the wild, or else they would always run wild when they grew up; and the only way for this was, to have some enclosed piece of ground, well fenced, either with hedge or pale, to keep them in so effectually, that those within might not break out, or those without break in. For a start I made an enclosure one hundred and fifty yards by one hundred, to which, as my flocks increased, I added. In about a year and a half I had a flock of about twelve goats, kids and all, and in two years more I had forty-three, besides several that I had killed for food.

But this was not all, for now I set up my dairy, and had sometimes a gallon or two of milk in a day. And as Nature, who gives supplies of food to every creature, dictates even naturally how to make use of it, so I, after a great many essays and miscarriages, made me both butter and cheese at last, and also salt (though I found it partly made to my hand by the heat of the sun upon some of the rocks of the sea), and never wanted it afterwards.

It would have made a stoic smile to have seen me and my little family sit down to dinner. There was my majesty, the prince and lord of the whole island; I had the lives of all my

subjects at my absolute command; I could hang, draw, give liberty, and take it away; and no rebels among all my subjects.

Then to see how like a king I dined too, all alone, attended by my servants! Poll, as if he had been my favourite, was the only person permitted to talk to me. My dog, who was now grown very old and crazy, and two cats, one on one side of the table, and one on the other, expecting now and then a bit from my hand, as a mark of special favour.

You are to understand, that now I had, as I may call it, two plantations in the island: one my little fortification or tent with the wall about it, under the rock, with the cave behind me, which, by this time, I had enlarged into several apartments or caves, one within another. One of these, which was the driest and largest, and had a door out beyond my wall or fortification, that is to say, beyond where my wall joined to the rock, was all filled up with the large earthen pots, of which I have given an account, and with fourteen or fifteen great baskets, which would hold five or six bushels each, where I laid up my stores of provision, especially my corn, some in the ear, cut off short from the straw, and the other rubbed out with my hand.

As for my wall, made, as before, with long

stakes or piles, those piles grew all like trees, and were by this time grown so big, and spread so very much, that there was not the least appearance, to any one's view, of any habitation behind them.

Near this dwelling of mine, but a little farther within the land, and upon lower ground, lay my two pieces of corn land, which I kept and duly cultivated and sowed, and which duly yielded me their harvest in its season; and whenever I had occasion for more corn, I had more land adjoining as fit as that.

Besides this, I had my country seat; and I had now a tolerable plantation there also: for, first, I had my little bower, as I called it, which I kept in repair; that is to say, I kept the hedge which encircled it in constantly fitting up to its usual height, the ladder standing always in the inside: I kept the trees, which at first were no more than my stakes, but were now grown very firm and tall, always cut, so that they might spread and grow thick and wild, and make the more agreeable shade, which they did effectually to my mind. In the middle of this I had my tent always standing, being a piece of sail spread over poles, set up for that purpose, and which never wanted any repair or renewing; and under this I had made me a squab or couch,

with the skins of the creatures I had killed, and with other soft things ; and a blanket laid on them, such as belonged to our sea beddings, which I had saved, and a great watch-coat to cover me ; and here, whenever I had occasion to be absent from my chief seat, I took up my country habitation.

It happened one day, about noon, going towards my boat, I was exceedingly surprised with the print of a man's naked foot on the shore, which was very plain to be seen in the sand. I stood like one thunderstruck, or as if I had seen an apparition ; I listened, I looked round me, but I could hear nothing, nor see anything ; I went up to a rising ground to look farther ; I went up the shore and down the shore, but it was all one ; I could see no other impression but that one. I went to it again to see if there were any more, and to observe if it might not be my fancy ; but there was no room for that, for there was exactly the print of a foot, toes, heel, and every part of a foot : how it came thither I knew not, nor could I in the least imagine ; but, after innumerable fluttering thoughts, like a man perfectly confused and out of myself, I came home to my fortification, not feeling, as we say, the ground I went on, but terrified to the last degree ; looking behind

me at every two or three steps, mistaking every bush and tree, and fancying every stump at a distance to be a man.

When I came to my castle I fled into it like one pursued; whether I went over by the ladder, as first contrived, or went in at the hole in the rock, which I had called a door, I cannot remember; no, nor could I remember the next morning; for never frightened hare fled to cover, or fox to earth with more terror of mind than I to this retreat.

Now I began to take courage, and to peep abroad again, for I had not stirred out of my castle for three days and nights, so that I began to starve for provisions; for I had little or nothing within doors but some barley cakes and water: then I knew too that my goats wanted to be milked. Encouraging myself, therefore, with the belief that this was nothing but the print of one of my own feet, I began to be a little bolder, and to think there was really nothing in it but my own imagination; but I could not persuade myself fully of this till I should go down to the shore again; but when I came to the place and came to measure the mark with my own foot, I found my foot not so large by a great deal. This filled my head with new imaginations, so that I shook with cold like one in an ague; and I went home



“ I made an umbrella and covered it with skins, the hair upwards, so that it cast off the rain like a pent-house, and kept off the sun very effectually.”

again, filled with the belief that some man or men had been on shore there ; or in short, that the island was inhabited, and I might be surprised before I was aware ; and what course to take for my security, I knew not.

Now I began sorely to repent that I had dug my cave so large as to bring a door through again, which door, as I said, came out beyond where my fortification joined to the rock : upon maturely considering this, therefore, I resolved to draw me a second fortification, in the same manner of a semicircle, at a distance from my wall, just where I had planted a double row of trees about twelve years before, of which I made mention : these trees having been planted so thick before, they wanted but few piles to be driven between them, that they might be thicker and stronger, and my wall would be soon finished : so that I had now a double wall ; and my outer was thickened with pieces of timber, old cables, and everything I could think of, to make it strong, having in it seven little holes, about as big as I might put my arm out at. In the inside of this I thickened my wall to about ten feet thick, with continually bringing earth out of my cave, and laying it at the foot of the wall, and walking upon it ; and through the seven holes I contrived to plant the muskets, of which I took

notice that I had got seven on shore out of the ship ; these I planted like my cannon, and fitted them into frames, that held them like a carriage, so that I could fire all the seven guns in two minutes' time : this wall I was many a weary month in finishing, and yet never thought myself safe till it was done.

When this was done, I stuck all the ground without my wall, for a great length every way, as full with stakes, or sticks, of the osier-like wood, which I found so apt to grow, as they could well stand, insomuch, that I believe I might set in near twenty thousand of them, leaving a pretty large space between them and my wall, that I might have room to see an enemy, and they might have no shelter from the young trees, if they attempted to approach my outer wall.

Thus, in two years' time, I had a thick grove ; and in five or six years' time I had a wood before my dwelling, growing so monstrous thick and strong, that it was indeed perfectly impassable ; and no men, of what kind soever, would ever imagine that there was anything beyond it, much less a habitation. As for the way in which I proposed to myself to go in and out (for I left no avenue), it was by setting two ladders, one to a part of the rock which was low, and

“ I dined like a king, attended by my servants.”



then broke in, and left room to place another ladder upon that ; so when the two ladders were taken down, no man living could come down to me without doing himself mischief ; and if they had come down, they were still on the outside of my outer wall.

Thus I took all the measures human prudence could suggest for my own preservation ; and it will be seen, at length, that they were not altogether without just reason, though I foresaw nothing at that time more than my mere fear suggested to me.

While this was doing, I was concerned also to secure the safety of my goats. For this purpose, after long consideration, I could think of but two ways to preserve them ; one was, to find another convenient place to dig a cave under ground, and to drive them into it every night ; and the other was, to enclose two or three little bits of land, remote from one another, and as much concealed as I could, where I might keep about half a dozen young goats in each place ; so that if any disaster happened to the flock in general, I might be able to raise them again with little trouble and time ; and this, though it would require a great deal of time and labour, I thought was the most rational design.

Accordingly, I spent some time to find out

the most retired parts of the island ; and I pitched upon one, which was as private, indeed, as my heart could wish for ; it was a little damp piece of ground, in the middle of the hollow and thick woods, where I almost lost myself once before, endeavouring to come back that way from the eastern part of the island. Here I found a clear piece of land, near three acres, so surrounded with woods, that it was almost an enclosure by nature ; at least it did not want near so much labour to make it so as the other pieces of ground I had worked so hard at.

After I had thus secured one part of my little living stock, I went about the whole island, searching for another private place to make such another deposit ; when, wandering more to the west point of the island than I had ever done yet, and looking out to sea, I thought I saw a boat upon the sea, but at so great a distance that I could not be sure whether it was a boat or not. When I was come down the hill to the end of the island, where, indeed, I had never been before, I was presently convinced that the seeing the print of a man's foot was not such a strange thing in the island as I imagined ; and, but that it was a special providence that I was cast upon the side of the island where the savages

never came, I should easily have known that nothing was more frequent than for the canoes from the main, when they happened to be too far out at sea, to shoot over to that side of the island for harbour ; likewise, as they often met and fought in their canoes, the victors having taken any prisoners, would bring them over to this shore, where, according to their dreadful customs, being all cannibals, they would kill and eat them ; of which hereafter.

When I was come down the hill to the shore, as I said above, being the south-west point of the island, I was perfectly confounded and amazed at seeing the shore spread with skulls, hands, feet, and other bones of human bodies ; and, particularly, I observed a place where there had been a fire made and a circle dug in the earth, like a cockpit, where I supposed the savage wretches had sat down to their inhuman feastings upon the bodies of their fellow-creatures.

I was so astonished with the sight of these things, that I entertained no notions of any danger to myself from it for a long while ; all my apprehensions were buried in the thoughts of such a pitch of inhuman brutality and the horror of the degeneracy of human nature, which, though I had heard of it often, yet I never had so near a view of before.

“The roof rose higher up, I believe near twenty feet; but never was such a glorious sight seen in the island. The wall reflected a hundred thousand lights to me from my two candles.”



Time, and the satisfaction I had that I was in no danger of being discovered by these people, began to wear off my uneasiness about them ; and I began to live just in the same composed manner as before, only with this difference, that I used more caution, and kept my eyes more about me, than I did before, lest I should happen to be seen by any of them ; and particularly, I was more cautious of firing my gun, lest any of them being on the island should happen to hear it.

CHAPTER VII

A SPANISH SHIP ASHORE

IN this disposition I continued for near a year after this. I kept myself more retired than ever, and seldom went from my cell, except upon my constant employment, viz., to milk my she-goats, and manage my little flock in the wood, which, as it was quite on the other part of the island, was quite out of danger ; for certain it is, that these savage people, who sometimes haunted this island, never came with any thoughts of finding anything here, and consequently never wandered off from the coast ; and I doubt not but they might have been several times on shore after my apprehensions of them had made me cautious, as well as before.

I believe the reader of this will not think it strange if I confess that these anxieties, these constant dangers I lived in, and the concern that was now upon me, put an end to all invention, and to all the contrivances that I had laid for my future accommodations and conveniences. I had the care of my safety more now upon my hands

than that of my food. I cared not to drive a nail, or chop a stick of wood now, for fear the noise I might make should be heard; much less would I fire a gun, for the same reason; and above all, I was intolerably uneasy at making any fire, lest the smoke, which is visible at a great distance in the day, should betray me. For this reason, I removed that part of my business which required fire, such as burning of pots, pipes, etc., into my new apartment in the woods; where, after I had been some time, I found, to my unspeakable consolation, a mere natural cave in the earth, which went in a vast way, and where, I dare say, no savage, had he been at the mouth of it, would be so hardy as to venture in: nor, indeed, would any man else, but one who, like me, wanted nothing so much as a safe retreat.

While I was cutting down some wood here, I perceived that behind a very thick branch of low brushwood, or underwood, there was a kind of hollow place. I explored it and found myself in a cave. It was very small, that is to say, it might be about twelve feet over, but in no manner of shape, neither round nor square, no hands having ever been employed in making it but those of Nature. I observed also that there was a place at the farther side of it that

went in farther, but was so low that it required me to creep upon my hands and knees to go into it, and whither it went I knew not: so having no candle, I gave it over for that time; but resolved to come again the next day, provided with candles and a tinder-box, which I had made of the lock of one of the muskets, with some wild-fire in the pan.

Accordingly, the next day I came provided with six large candles of my own making (for I made very good candles now of goat's tallow, but was hard set to for candle-wick, using sometimes rags or rope-yarn, and sometimes the dried rind of a reed-like nettle); and going into this low place, I was obliged to creep upon all fours, as I have said, almost ten yards; which, by the way, I thought was a venture bold enough, considering that I knew not how far it might go, nor what was beyond it. When I had got through the strait, I found the roof rose higher up, I believe near twenty feet; but never was such a glorious sight seen in the island, I dare say, as it was, to look round the sides and roof of this vault or cave; the wall reflected a hundred thousand lights to me from my two candles. What it was in the rock, whether diamonds, or any other precious stones, or gold, which I rather supposed it to be, I knew

not. The place I was in was a most delightful cavity or grotto of its kind, as could be expected, though perfectly dark; the floor was dry and level, and had a sort of small loose gravel upon it, so that there was no nauseous or venomous creature to be seen, neither was there any damp or wet on the sides or roof: the only difficulty in it was the entrance; which, however, as it was a place of security, and such a retreat as I wanted, I thought that was a convenience; so that I was really rejoiced at the discovery, and resolved, without any delay, to bring some of those things which I was most anxious about to this place; particularly, I resolved to bring hither my magazine of powder and all my spare arms, viz., two fowling-pieces, for I had three in all, and three muskets, for of them I had eight in all: so I kept at my castle only five, which stood ready mounted like pieces of cannon on my outmost fence, and were ready also to take out upon any expedition. So I carried all away thither, never keeping above two or three pounds of powder with me in my castle, for fear of a surprise of any kind: I also carried thither all the lead I had left for bullets.

I fancied myself now like one of the ancient giants, which were said to live in caves and

holes in the rocks, where none could come at them ; for I persuaded myself, while I was here, that if five hundred savages were to hunt me, they could never find me out ; or, if they did, they would not venture to attack me here.

It was now the month of December, in my twenty-third year of residence here ; and this being the southern solstice (for winter I cannot call it), was the particular time of my harvest, and required my being much abroad in the fields ; when going out pretty early in the morning, even before it was thorough daylight, I was surprised with seeing a light of some fire upon the shore, at a distance from me of about two miles, towards the end of the island where I had observed some savages had been, as before ; and not on the other side, but, to my great affliction, it was on my side of the island. I mounted to the top of the hill ; and pulling out my perspective glass, which I had taken on purpose, I laid me down flat on the ground, and began to look for the place. I presently found there were no less than nine naked savages, sitting round a small fire, as I supposed, to dress some of their barbarous diet of human flesh.

They had two canoes with them, which they had hauled up upon the shore ; and as it was

then tide of ebb, they seemed to me to wait for the return of the flood to go away again. It is not easy to imagine what confusion this sight put me into, especially seeing them come on my side of the island, and so near me too ; but when I considered their coming must be always with the current of the ebb, I began, afterwards, to be more sedate in my mind, being satisfied that I might go abroad with safety all the time of the tide of flood, if they were not on shore before ; and having made this observation, I went abroad about my harvest work with the more composure.

As I expected, so it proved ; for as soon as the tide made to the westward, I saw them all take boat, and row (or paddle, as we call it) away. It was on the sixteenth of May that it blew a very great storm of wind all day, with a great deal of lightning and thunder, and a very foul night it was after it. I knew not what was the particular occasion of it, but as I was reading in the Bible, and taken up with very serious thoughts about my present condition, I was surprised with the noise of a gun, as I thought, fired at sea. I immediately considered that this must be some ship in distress. I had the presence of mind, at that minute, to think that though I could not help them, it might

be they might help me : so I brought together all the dry wood I could get at hand, and making a good handsome pile, I set it on fire upon the hill. I plied my fire all night long, till day-break ; and when it was broad day, and the air cleared up, I saw something at a great distance at sea, full east of the island, whether a sail or a hull I could not distinguish, no, not with my glass ; the distance was so great, and the weather still something hazy also ; at least it was so out at sea.

I looked frequently at it all that day, and soon perceived that it did not move ; so I presently concluded that it was a ship at anchor ; and being eager, you may be sure, to be satisfied, I took my gun in my hand, and ran towards the south side of the island, to the rocks ; and getting up there, the weather by this time being perfectly clear, I could plainly see, to my great sorrow, the wreck of a ship, cast away in the night upon sunken rocks. My mind was filled with melancholy surmises about the fate of the crew, whether they had tried to make my island in their boat and had been swamped, or had been carried out into the great ocean, where there was nothing but misery and perishing.

It was now calm, and I had a great mind to venture out in my boat to this wreck, not doubt-



“There were no less than nine naked savages sitting round a small fire.”

ing but I might find something on board that might be useful to me : but that did not altogether press me so much, as the possibility that there might be yet some living creature on board, whose life I might not only save, but might, by saving that life, comfort my own to the last degree.

I resolved, the next morning, to set out with the first of the tide ; and reposing myself for the night in my canoe, I launched out. I went at a great rate directly for the wreck, and in less than two hours I came up to it. It was a dismal sight to look at : the ship, which, by its building, was Spanish, stuck fast, jammed in between two rocks ; all the stern and quarter of her were beaten to pieces with the sea ; and as her forecastle, which stuck in the rocks, had run on with great violence, her mainmast and foremast were brought by the board, that is to say, broken short off ; but her bowsprit was sound, and the head and bow appeared firm. When I came close to her, a dog appeared upon her, who, seeing me coming, yelped and cried ; and as soon as I called him jumped into the sea to come to me. I took him into the boat, but found him almost dead with hunger and thirst. I gave him a cake of my bread, and he devoured it like a ravenous wolf that had been starving

a fortnight in the snow. After this, I went on board. Besides the dog, there was nothing left in the ship that had life ; nor any goods, that I could see, but what were spoiled by the water.

Upon the whole, I got very little by this voyage that was of any use to me.

CHAPTER VIII

MAN FRIDAY

ABOUT a year and a half after the wreck of the Spanish ship, I was surprised, one morning early, with seeing no less than five canoes all on shore together on my side the island, and the people who belonged to them all landed, and out of my sight. The number of them broke all my measures; for seeing so many, and knowing that they always came four or six, or sometimes more, in a boat, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to take my measures, to attack twenty or thirty men single-handed; so lay still in my castle, perplexed and discomforted. Having waited a good while, listening to hear if they made any noise, at length, being very impatient, I set my guns at the foot of my ladder, and clambered up to the top of the hill, by my two stages as usual; standing so, however, that my head did not appear above the hill, so that they could not perceive me by any means. Here I observed, by the help of my perspective glass,



“The ship, which, by its building, was Spanish,
stuck fast, jammed in between two rocks.”

that they were no less than thirty in number ; that they had a fire kindled, and that they had meat dressed. How they had cooked it I know not, or what it was, but they were all dancing, in I know not how many barbarous gestures and figures, their own way, round the fire.

While I was thus looking on them, I perceived, by my perspective, two miserable wretches dragged from the boats, where, it seems, they were laid by, and were now brought out for the slaughter. I perceived one of them immediately fall, being knocked down, I suppose, with a club or wooden sword, for that was their way, and two or three others were at work immediately, cutting him open for their cookery, while the other victim was left standing by himself, till they should be ready for him. In that very moment this poor wretch started away from them, and ran with incredible swiftness along the sands, directly towards me, I mean towards that part of the coast where my habitation was. I was dreadfully frightened, I must acknowledge, when I perceived him run my way, and especially when, as I thought, I saw him pursued by the whole body. However, I kept my station, and my spirits began to recover, when I found that there was not above three men that followed him ; and still more was

I encouraged when I found that he outstripped them exceedingly in running, and gained ground of them, so that if he could but hold it for half an hour, I saw easily he would fairly get away from them all.

There was between them, and my castle the creek, where I landed my cargoes out of the ship ; and this I saw plainly he must necessarily swim over, or the poor wretch would be taken there : but when the savage escaping came thither, he made nothing of it, though the tide was then up ; but plunging in, swam through in about **thirty** strokes, or thereabouts, landed, and ran on with exceeding strength and swiftness. When the three persons came to the creek, I found that two of them could swim, but the third could not, and soon after went softly back again. I observed that the two who swam were yet more than twice as long swimming over the creek as the fellow was that fled from them. It came now very warmly upon my thoughts, that now was the time to get me a servant, and perhaps a companion or assistant, and that I was called plainly by Providence to save this poor creature's life. I immediately ran down the ladders, with all possible expedition, fetched my two guns, for they were both at the foot of the ladders, and getting up again, with the same

haste, to the top of the hill, I crossed towards the sea, and having a very short cut, and all down hill, placed myself in the way between the pursuers and the pursued, hallooing aloud to him that fled, who, looking back, was at first, perhaps, as much frightened at me as at them ; but I beckoned with my hand to him to come back ; and, in the meantime, I slowly advanced towards the two that followed : then rushing at once upon the foremost, I knocked him down with the stock of my piece. I was loth to fire, because I would not have the rest hear. Having knocked this fellow down, the other who pursued him stopped, as if he had been frightened, and I advanced apace towards him : but as I came nearer, I perceived presently he had a bow and arrow, and was fitting it to shoot at me : so I was then necessitated to shoot at him first, which I did, and killed him at the first shot. The poor savage who fled but had stopped, though he saw both his enemies fallen and killed, as he thought, yet was so frightened with the fire and noise of my piece, that he stood stock still, and neither came forward nor went backward, though he seemed rather inclined to fly than to come on.

I beckoned to him to come to me, and gave him all the signs of encouragement that I could



"I gave him bread and a bunch of raisins to eat, and a draught of water."

think of ; and he came nearer and nearer, kneeling down every ten or twelve steps, in token of acknowledgment for my having saved his life. I smiled at him, and looked pleasantly, and beckoned to him to come still nearer : at length he came close to me ; and then he kneeled down again, kissed the ground, and laid his head upon the ground, and taking me by the foot, set my foot upon his head : this, it seems, was in token of swearing to be my slave for ever. I took him up, and made much of him, and encouraged him all I could. But there was more work to do yet ; for I perceived the savage whom I knocked down was not killed but stunned with the blow, and began to come to himself : so I pointed to him, and showed him the savage, that he was not dead : upon this he spoke some words to me, and though I could not understand them, yet I thought they were pleasant to hear ; for they were the first sound of a man's voice that I had heard, my own excepted, for about twenty-five years. But there was no time for reflections now ; the savage who was knocked down recovered himself so far as to sit up on the ground, and I perceived that my savage began to be afraid ; but when I saw that, I presented my other piece at the man, as if I would shoot him : upon this my savage,

for so I call him now, made a motion to me to lend him my sword, which hung naked in a belt by my side, which I did. He no sooner had it, but he runs to his enemy, and, at one blow, cut off his head so cleverly, no executioner in Germany could have done it sooner or better : which I thought very strange for one who, I had reason to believe, never saw a sword in his life before, except their own wooden swords : however, it seems, as I learned afterwards, they make their wooden swords so sharp, so heavy, and the wood is so hard, that they will cut off heads even with them, ay, and arms, and that at one blow too. When he had done this, he comes laughing to me, in sign of triumph, and brought me the sword again, and with abundance of gestures, which I did not understand, laid it down. But that which astonished him most was to know how I killed the other Indian so far off : so pointing to him, he made signs to me to let him go to him ; so I bade him go as well as I could. When he came to him, he stood like one amazed, looking at him, turning him first on one side, then on the other, looked at the wound the bullet had made, which, it seems, was just in his breast, where it had made a hole, and no great quantity of blood had followed, but he had bled inwardly, for he was quite

dead. He took up his bow and arrows, and came back ; so I turned to go away, and beckoned him to follow me, making signs to him that more might come after them. Upon this he made signs to me that he should bury them with sand, that they might not be seen by the rest, if they followed ; and so I made signs to him again to do so. He fell to work ; and, in an instant, he had scraped a hole in the sand with his hands, big enough to bury the first in, and then dragged him into it, and covered him ; and did so by the other also : I believe he had buried them both in a quarter of an hour. Then calling him away, I conveyed him, not to my castle, but quite away, to my cave, on the farther part of the island. Here I gave him bread and a bunch of raisins to eat, and a draught of water, which I found he was indeed in great distress for, by his running ; and having refreshed him, I made signs for him to go and lie down to sleep ; showing him a place where I had laid some rice straw, and a blanket upon it which I used to sleep upon myself sometimes ; so the poor creature lay down and went to sleep.

He was a comely, handsome fellow, perfectly well-made, with straight, strong limbs, not too large, tall, and well-shaped, and, as I reckon, about twenty-six years of age. He had a very

good countenance, not a fierce and surly aspect ; but seemed to have something very manly in his face ; and yet he had all the sweetness and softness of an European in his countenance too, especially when he smiled. His hair was long and black, not curled like wool ; his forehead was high and large ; and a great vivacity and sparkling sharpness in his eyes. The colour of his skin was not quite black, but very tawny ; his face was round and plump ; his nose small, not flat like the negroes ; a very good mouth, thin lips, and his fine teeth well set, and as white as ivory.

After he had slumbered, rather than slept, about half an hour, he awoke again, and came out of the cave to me, for I had been milking my goats, which I had in the enclosure just by : when he espied me, he made all the signs to me of subjection, servitude, and submission imaginable, to let me know how he would serve me as long as he lived. I understood him in many things, and let him know I was very well pleased with him. In a little time I began to speak to him and teach him to speak to me ; and, first, I let him know his name should be FRIDAY, which was the day I saved his life : I called him so for the memory of the time. I likewise taught him to say Master : and then let him know that

was to be my name : I likewise taught him to say Yes and No, and to know the meaning of them. I gave him some milk in an earthen pot, and let him see me drink it before him, and sop my bread in it ; and gave him a cake of bread to do the like, which he quickly complied with, and made signs that it was very good for him. I kept there with him all that night ; but as soon as it was day, I beckoned to him to come with me, and let him know that I would give him some clothes : at which he seemed very glad, for he was stark naked. As we went by the place where he had buried the two men, he pointed exactly to the spot, and showed me the marks he had made to find them again, making signs to me that we should dig them up again, and eat them. At this I appeared very angry, expressed my abhorrence of it, and beckoned with my hand to him to come away, which he did immediately, with great submission. I then led him up to the top of the hill, to see if his enemies were gone ; and pulling out my glass, I looked, and saw plainly the place where they had been, but no appearance of them or their canoes : so that it was plain they were gone, and had left their two comrades behind them, without any search after them. Friday, by his signs, made me understand that

they brought over four prisoners to feast upon ; that three of them were eaten up, and that he, pointing to himself, was the fourth ; that there had been a great battle between them and their next king, whose subjects, it seems, he had been one of, and that they had taken a great number of prisoners ; all which were carried to several places by those who had taken them in the fight, in order to feast upon them, as was done here by these wretches upon those they brought hither.

I caused Friday to gather up all the skulls, bones, and flesh, and whatever remained, and lay them together in a heap, and make a great fire upon it, and burn them all to ashes.

When he had done this, we came back to our castle ; and there I fell to work for my man Friday : and, first of all, I gave him a pair of linen drawers, which I had out of the big locker or chest which I found in the wreck ; and which, with a little alteration, fitted him very well, and then I made him a jerkin of goat's skin, as well as my skill would allow (for I was now grown a tolerable good tailor) ; and I gave him a good cap, which I made of hare's skin, very convenient and fashionable enough ; and thus he was clothed for the present, tolerably well, and was mighty well

pleased to see himself almost as well clothed as his master! It is true, he went awkwardly in those clothes at first: wearing the drawers was very awkward to him, and the sleeves of the waistcoat galled his shoulders, and the inside of his arms, but after a little easing them where he complained they hurt him, and using himself to them, he took to them at length very well.

The next day after I came home to my hutch with him, I began to consider where I should lodge him; and that I might do well for him, and yet be perfectly easy myself, but I soon found that I need be under no apprehension on that score, for never man had a more faithful, loving, sincere servant than Friday was to me; without passions, sullenness, or designs, perfectly obliged and engaged—his very affections were tied to me, like those of a child to a father; and I dare say he would have sacrificed his life for the saving mine upon any occasion whatsoever: the many testimonies he gave me of this put it out of doubt, and soon convinced me that I needed to use no precautions as to my safety on his account.

With my new companion I was greatly delighted, and made it my business to teach him everything that was proper to make him use-

ful, handy, and helpful ; but especially to make him speak, and understand me when I spoke : and he was the aptest scholar that ever was ; and particularly was so merry, so constantly diligent, and so pleased when he could but understand me, or make me understand him, that it was very pleasant to me to talk to him. Now my life began to be so easy, that I began to say to myself, that could I have been safe from more savages, I cared not if I was never to remove from the place where I lived.

After I had been two or three days returned to my castle, I thought that, in order to bring Friday off from his horrid way of feeding, and from the relish of a cannibal's stomach, I ought to let him taste other flesh ; so I took him out with me one morning to the woods. I went, indeed, intending to kill a kid out of my own flock, and bring it home and dress it ; but as I was going, I saw a she-goat lying down in the shade, and two young kids sitting by her. I caught hold of Friday : " Hold," said I ; " stand still ;" and made signs to him not to stir : immediately I presented my piece, shot, and killed one of the kids. He stood like one frightened, and I found he was the more amazed, because he did not see me put anything into the



"When he was by himself, Friday would talk to the gun, and desire it not to kill him."

gun, but thought that there must be some wonderful fund of death and destruction in that thing, able to kill man, beast, or bird, or anything near or far off; and the astonishment this created in him was such as could not wear off for a long time; and I believed, if I would have let him, he would have worshipped me and my gun. As for the gun itself he would not so much as touch it for several days after; but he would speak to it, and talk to it, as if it had answered him, when he was by himself; which, as I afterwards learned of him, was to desire it not to kill him. I brought home the kid, and the same evening I took the skin off, and cut it out as well as I could; and having a pot fit for that purpose, I boiled or stewed some of the flesh, and made some very good broth. After I had begun to eat some, I gave some to my man, who seemed very glad of it, and liked it very well.

The next day I set him to work to beating some corn out, and sifting it, in the manner I used to do, as I observed before; and he soon understood how to do it as well as I, especially after he had seen what the meaning of it was, and that it was to make bread of it: for after that I let him see me make my bread and bake it too; and in a little time Friday was

able to do all the work for me, as well as I could do it myself.

I began now to consider, that having two mouths to feed instead of one, I must provide more ground for my harvest, and plant a larger quantity of corn than I used to do : so I marked out a larger piece of land, and began the fence in the same manner as before, in which Friday worked not only very willingly and very hard, but did it very cheerfully : and I told him what it was for ; that it was for corn to make more bread, because he was now with me, and that I might have enough for him and myself too. He appeared very sensible of that part, and let me know that he thought I had much more labour upon me on his account than I had for myself ; and that he would work the harder for me, if I would tell him what to do.

This was the pleasantest year of all the life I led in this place. Friday began to talk pretty well, and understand the names of almost everything I had occasion to call for, and of every place I had to send him to, and talked a great deal to me ; so that, in short, I began now to have some use for my tongue again, which, indeed, I had very little occasion for before, that is to say, about speech. Besides the pleasure of talking to him, I had a singular

satisfaction in the fellow himself: his simple unfeigned honesty appeared to me more and more every day, and I began really to love the creature; and, on his side, I believed he loved me more than it was possible for him ever to love anything before.

During the long time that Friday had now been with me, I had been instructing him in the knowledge of the true God; I told him that the great Maker of all things lived up there, pointing up towards heaven; that He governed the world by the same power and providence by which He made it; and that He was omnipotent, and could do everything for us, give everything to us, take everything from us; and thus, by degrees, I opened his eyes. He listened with great attention, and received with pleasure the notion of Jesus Christ being sent to redeem us, and of the manner of making our prayers to God, and His being able to hear us, even in heaven. He told me one day, that if our God could hear us up beyond the sun, He must needs be a greater God than the god his tribe worshipped, Benamuckee, who lived but a little way off, and yet could not hear till they went up to the great mountains where he dwelt to speak to him.

I had, God knows, more sincerity than know-

“He was most amazed when he saw me work the boat to and again in the sea by the rudder.”



ledge in all the methods I took for this poor creature's instruction, and must acknowledge, that in teaching him, I really taught myself ; so that, whether this poor wild wretch was the better for me or no, I had great reason to be thankful that ever he came to me ; my grief sat lighter upon me ; my habitation grew comfortable to me beyond measure ; and when I reflected, that in this solitary life which I had been confined to, I had not only been moved to look up to Heaven myself, and to seek the hand that had brought me here, but was now to be made an instrument, under Providence, to save the life, and, for ought I knew, the soul, of a poor savage, and bring him to the true knowledge of religion, and of the Christian doctrine, that he might know Christ Jesus, in whom is life eternal ; I say, when I reflected upon all these things, a secret joy ran through every part of my soul, and, I frequently rejoiced that ever I was brought to this place, which I had so often thought the most dreadful of all afflictions that could possibly have befallen me.

CHAPTER IX

RESCUE OF THE SPANISH PRISONER

AFTER Friday and I became more intimately acquainted, and that he could understand almost all I said to him, and speak pretty fluently, though in broken English, to me, I acquainted him with my own history, or at least so much of it as related to my coming to this place. I gave him an account of the wreck which I had been on board of, and showed him, as near as I could, the place where she lay ; but she was all beaten in pieces before, and gone. I showed him the ruins of our boat, which we lost when we escaped, and which I could not stir with my whole strength then ; but was now fallen almost to pieces. Upon seeing this boat, Friday stood musing a great while, and said nothing. I asked him what it was he studied upon ? At last, he says : " Me see such boat like come to place at my nation. We save the white mans from drown." Then I presently asked him, if there were any white mans, as he called them, in the boat ?

“ Yes,” he said ; “ the boat full of white mans.” I asked him how many ? He told upon his fingers seventeen. I asked him then what became of them ; he told me, “ They live, they dwell at my nation.”

Upon this, I inquired of him more critically what was become of them ; he assured me they lived still there ; that they had been there about four years ; that the savages let them alone, and gave them victuals to live on. I asked him how it came to pass they did not kill them, and eat them ; he said, “ No, they make brother with them ” ; that is, as I understood him, a truce ; and then he added, “ They no eat mans but when make the war fight ” ; that is to say, they never eat any men but such as come to fight with them, and are taken in battle.

I now came to a decision to reach the territory of Friday’s tribe, founded on the supposition gathered from the discourse, viz., that there were seventeen bearded men there : and, therefore, without any more delay, I went to work with Friday, to find out a great tree proper to fell, and make a large periagua, or canoe, to undertake the voyage. There were trees enough in the island to have built a little fleet, not of periaguas, or canoes, but even of good large vessels ; but the main thing I looked at was, to

"A white man lay upon the beach of the sea,
with his hands and feet tied with rushes."



get one so near the water that we might launch it when it was made, to avoid the mistake I committed at first. At last Friday pitched upon a tree ; for I found he knew much better than I what kind of wood was fittest for it.

Friday was for burning the hollow or cavity of the tree out, to make it for a boat, but I showed him how to cut it with tools ; which, after I had showed him how to use, he did very handily ; and in about a month's hard labour we finished it, and made it very handsome ; especially when, with our axes, which I showed him how to handle, we cut and hewed the outside into the true shape of a boat. After this, however, it cost us near a fortnight's time to get her along, as it were inch by inch, upon great rollers into the water ; but, when she was in, she would have carried twenty men with great ease.

I was near two months rigging and fitting my mast and sails ; for I finished them very complete, making a small stay, and a sail, or foresail, to it, to assist, if we should turn to windward ; and, which was more than all, I fixed a rudder to the stern of her to steer with. Later when I came to teach Friday what belonged to the navigation of my boat, for though he knew very well how to paddle he knew nothing of what belonged to a sail or rudder, he

was most amazed when he saw me work the boat to and again in the sea by the rudder, and how the sail gibbed and filled this way or that way, as the course we sailed changed.

I was busy one morning upon my boat when I called to Friday and bid him go to the sea-shore, and see if he could find a turtle, or tortoise, a thing we generally got once a week, for the sake of the eggs as well as the flesh. Friday had not been long gone, when he came running back and flew over my outer wall, or fence, like one that felt not the ground, or the steps he set his feet on ; and before I had time to speak to him, he cried out to me, " O master ! O master ! O sorrow ! O bad ! "—" What's the matter, Friday ? " says I. " O yonder, there," says he, " one, two, three canoe : one, two, three ! " By this way of speaking I concluded there were six ; but on inquiry I found it but three.

I made him take the two fowling-pieces, which we always carried, and loaded them with large swan-shot, as big as small pistol-bullets ; then I took four muskets, and loaded them with two slugs, and five small bullets each ; and my two pistols I loaded with a brace of bullets each ; I hung my great sword, as usual, naked by my side, and gave Friday his hatchet. When I had thus prepared myself, I took my perspective

glass, and went up to the side of the hill to see what I could discover ; and I found quickly by my glass, that there were one-and-twenty savages, three prisoners, and three canoes ; and that their whole business seemed to be the triumphant banquet upon these three human bodies ; a barbarous feast indeed ! but nothing more than, as I had observed, was usual with them. I observed also that they were landed, not where they had done when Friday made his escape, but nearer to my creek, where the shore was low, and where a thick wood came almost close down to the sea.

I divided the arms which I had charged, as before, between us. I gave Friday one pistol to stick in his girdle, and three guns upon his shoulder ; and I took one pistol, and the other three guns myself ; and in this posture we marched out. I charged Friday to keep close behind me, and not to stir, or shoot, or do anything, till I bid him ; and, in the meantime, not to speak a word. I fetched a compass to my right hand of near a mile, as well to get over the creek as to get into the wood, so that I might come within shot of them before I should be discovered, which I had seen, by my glass, it was easy to do.

I entered the wood ; and, with all possible

wariness and silence, Friday following close at my heels, I marched till I came to the skirt of the wood, on the side which was next to them, only that one corner of the wood lay between me and them. Here I called softly to Friday, and showing him a great tree, which was just at the corner of the wood, I bade him go to the tree, and bring me word if he could see there plainly what they were doing. He did so; and came immediately back to me, and told me they might be plainly viewed there; that they were all about their fire, eating the flesh of one of their prisoners, and that another lay bound upon the sand, a little from them, which he said they would kill next, and which fired all the very soul within me. He told me it was not one of their nation, but one of the bearded men he told me of, that came to their country in the boat. I was filled with horror at the very naming the white bearded man; and, going to the tree, I saw plainly by my glass a white man, who lay upon the beach of the sea, with his hands and his feet tied with flags or rushes, and that he was an European and had clothes on.

There was another tree, and a little thicket beyond it, about fifty yards nearer to them than the place where I was, which by going a little

way about, I saw I might come at undiscovered, and that then I should be within half a shot of them : so I withheld my passion, though I was indeed enraged to the highest degree ; and going back about twenty paces, I got behind some bushes, which held all the way till I came to the other tree ; and then came to a little rising ground, which gave me a full view of them, at the distance of about eighty yards.

I had now not a moment to lose, for nineteen of the dreadful wretches sat upon the ground, all close-huddled together, and had just sent the other two to butcher the poor Christian, and they were stooping down to untie the bands at his feet. I turned to Friday—"Now, Friday," said I, "fire upon them with your musket," which he did, and the same moment I fired also.

Friday took his aim so much better than I, that on the side that he shot, he killed two of them, and wounded three more ; and on my side, I killed one, and wounded two. They were, you may be sure, in dreadful consternation ; and all of them who were not hurt jumped up upon their feet, but did not immediately know which way to run, or which way to look, for they knew not from whence their destruction came. Then with my fowling piece I fired again among the amazed wretches, and so did Friday ; and as

our pieces were now loaded with what I called swan shot, or small pistol bullets, we found only two drop, but so many were wounded, that they ran about yelling and screaming like mad creatures, all bloody, and most of them miserably wounded, whereof three more fell quickly after, though not quite dead.

Upon this I rushed out of the wood, and showed myself, and Friday close at my foot. As soon as I perceived they saw me, I shouted as loud as I could, and bade Friday do so too; and running as fast as I could, which by the way was not very fast, being loaded with arms as I was, I made directly towards the poor victim, who was, as I said, lying upon the beach, or shore, between the place where they sat and the sea. The two butchers, who were just going to work with him, had left him at the surprise of our first fire, and fled in a terrible fright to the sea-side, and had jumped into a canoe, and three more of the rest made the same way. I turned to Friday, and bade him step forward, and fire at them; he understood me immediately, and running about forty yards, to be nearer them, he shot at them, and I thought he had killed them all, for I saw them all fall of a heap into the boat, though I saw two of them up again quickly: however, he killed two of

them, and wounded the third, so that he lay down in the bottom of the boat as if he had been dead.

While my man Friday fired at them, I pulled out my knife, and cut the flags that bound the poor victim; loosing his hands and feet, and when he was erect thrust into his hands a pistol and sword. He took them very thankfully; and no sooner had he the arms in his hands, but, as if they had put a new vigour into him, he flew upon his murderers like a fury, and had cut two of them in pieces in an instant: for the truth is the whole was a surprise to them, so the poor creatures were so much frightened with the noise of our pieces, that they fell down for mere amazement and fear, and had no more power to attempt their own escape than their flesh had to resist our shot: and that was the case of those five that Friday shot at in the boat; for as three of them fell with the hurt they had received, the other two fell with fright.

I kept my piece in my hand still without firing, being willing to keep my charge ready, because I had given the Spaniard my pistol and sword; so I called to Friday, and bade him run up to the tree from whence we first fired and fetch the arms which lay there that had been dis-

charged, which he did, with great swiftness ; and then giving him my musket, I sat down myself to load all the rest again, and bade them come to me when they wanted.

Friday being now left to his liberty, pursued the flying wretches, with no weapon in his hand but his hatchet ; and with that he dispatched those three, who, as I said before, were wounded at first, and fallen, and all the rest he could come up with ; and the Spaniard coming to me for a gun I gave him one of the fowling-pieces, with which he pursued two of the savages, and wounded them both, but as he was not able to run, they both got from him into the wood, where Friday pursued them, and killed one of them, but the other was too nimble for him ; and though he was wounded, yet had plunged himself into the sea, and swam, with all his might, off to those who were left in the canoe, which three in the canoe with one wounded, that we know not whether he died or no, were all that escaped our hands of one-and-twenty. The account of the whole is as follows : three killed at our first shot from the tree ; two killed at the next shot ; two killed by Friday in the boat ; two killed by Friday of those at first wounded ; one killed by Friday in the wood ; three killed by the Spaniard, the two I have



"The fresh water revived him wonderfully, for he was fainting with thirst."

mentioned, and a third whom he shot with my pistol afterwards ; four killed, being found dropped here and there of their wounds, or killed by Friday in his chase of them ; four escaped in the boat, whereof one wounded if not dead.—Twenty-one in all.

Those who were in the canoe worked hard to get out of gun-shot, and though Friday made two or three shots at them, I did not find that he hit any of them, so running to one of their canoes, I jumped in, and bade Friday follow me ; but I was surprised to find another poor creature lie there, bound hand and foot, for the slaughter, and almost dead with fear, not knowing what was the matter ; for he had not been able to look up over the side of the boat. But when Friday came to hear him speak, and look in his face, it would have moved any one to tears to have seen how Friday kissed him, embraced him, hugged him, cried, laughed, halloed, jumped about, danced, sung ; then cried again, wrung his hands, beat his own face and head ; and then sang and jumped about again, like a distracted creature. It was a good while before I could make him speak to me, or tell me what was the matter ; but when he came a little to himself, he told me that it was his father.

This affair put an end to our pursuit of the

RESCUE OF THE SPANISH PRISONER 185

canoe with the other savages, who were now almost out of sight; and it was happy for us that we did not, for it blew so hard within two hours after, and before they could have got quarter⁴ of their way, and continued blowing so hard all night, and that from the north-west, which was against them, that I could not suppose that their boat could live, or that they ever reached their own coast.

Friday now came out of the boat and ran home for an earthen jug or pot to bring his father some fresh water, which revived him wonderfully, for he was fainting with thirst.

As soon as I had secured my two weak, rescued prisoners, and given them shelter, and a place to rest them upon, I began to think of preparing a meal for them, and made them a very good dish, I assure you, of flesh of a yearling goat and broth, having put some barley and rice also into the broth. I carried it all into the new tent, and having set a table for them, I sat down, and ate my dinner also with them, and, as well as I could, cheered them and encouraged them. Friday was my interpreter, especially to his father, and, indeed, to the Spaniard too: for the Spaniard spoke the language of the savages pretty well. Then I set Friday on to inquire of his father what treat-

ment we were likely to receive of his people if we carried out my project of escape ; and was assured by Friday's father that I might depend upon good usage from their nation, on his account, if I would go. But my thoughts were a little suspended when I had a serious discourse with the Spaniard, and when I understood that there were sixteen more of his countrymen and Portuguese, who, having been cast away, and made their escape to that side, lived there at peace, indeed, with the savages, but were very sore put to it for necessaries, and indeed for life. I asked him all the particulars of their voyage and found that they had five Portuguese seamen on board, whom they took out of another wreck ; that five of their own men were drowned, when first the ship was lost, and that these escaped through infinite dangers and hazards, and arrived, almost starved, on the cannibal coast, where they expected to have been devoured every moment. He told me they had some arms with them, but they were perfectly useless, for that they had neither powder nor ball, the washing of the sea having spoiled all their powder, but a little, which they used at their first landing to provide themselves some food.

Upon these assurances, I resolved to venture



“ From the top of the hill I plainly discovered a
ship lying at anchor.”

to relieve them, if possible, and to send the old savage and this Spaniard over to them to treat. But when we had got all things in readiness to go, the Spaniard himself started an objection, which had so much prudence in it, on one hand, and so much sincerity, on the other hand, that I could not but be very well satisfied in it ; and, by his advice, put off the deliverance of his comrades for at least half a year. He told me he thought it would be more advisable to let him and the other two dig and cultivate some more land, as much as I could spare seed to sow, and that we should wait another harvest, that we might have a supply of corn for his countrymen, when they should come ; for want might be a temptation to them to disagree, or not to think themselves delivered, otherwise than out of one difficulty into another. So we fell to digging, all four of us, as well as the wooden tools we were furnished with permitted ; and in a month's time, by the end of which it was seedtime, we had got as much land cured and trimmed up as we sowed two and twenty bushels of barley on, and sixteen jars of rice.

At the same time I contrived to increase my little flock of tame goats as much as I could. But, above all, the season for curing the grapes coming on, I caused such a prodigious quantity

to be hung up in the sun, that, I believe, had we been at Alicant, where the raisins of the sun are cured, we could have filled sixty or eighty barrels : and these, with our bread was a great part of our food, and was very good living, too, I assure you, for it is exceedingly nourishing.

It was now harvest, and our crop in good order : it was not the most plentiful increase I had seen in the island, but, however, it was enough to answer our end ; for from twenty-two bushels of barley we brought in and threshed out above two hundred and twenty bushels, and the like in proportion of the rice.

And now, having a full supply of food for all the guests I expected, I gave the Spaniard leave to go over to the main, to see what he could do with those he had left behind him there. The Spaniard and the old savage, the father of Friday, went away in one of the canoes which they were brought in as prisoners. I gave each of them a musket, with a firelock on it, and about eight charges of powder and ball, charging them to be very good husbands of both, and not to use either of them but upon urgent occasions. They went away with a fair gale, on the day that the moon was at full, by my account in the month of October.

Eight days after their departure I was fast

"I took myself two fowling pieces, and I gave Friday three muskets."



asleep in my hutch one morning, when my man Friday came running in to me, and called aloud, " Master, master, they are come, they are come ! " I jumped up, but I was surprised, when turning my eyes to the sea, I presently saw a boat about a league and a half distance, standing in for the shore, with a shoulder-of-mutton sail, as they call it, and the wind blowing fair to bring them in : also I observed presently, that they did not come from that side which the shore lay on, but from the southernmost end of the island. Upon this, I went in to fetch my perspective glass, and with it from the top of the hill plainly discovered a ship lying at anchor, at about two leagues and a half distance from me, S.S.E., but not above a league and a half from the shore. By my observation, it appeared plainly to be an English ship, and the boat appeared to be an English longboat.

I cannot express the confusion I was in. In the first place, it occurred to me to consider what business an English ship could have in that part of the world, since it was not the way to or from any part of the world where the English had any traffic ; and I knew there had been no storms to drive them in there, as in distress ; and that if they were really English, it was most probably that they were here upon

no good design ; and that I had better continue as I was, than fall into the hands of thieves and murderers.

I had not kept myself long in this posture, but I saw the boat on shore upon the beach, at about half a mile from me. When they were on the shore I was fully satisfied they were Englishmen ; there were in all eleven men, whereof three I found were unarmed, and, as I thought, bound ; and when the first four or five of them were jumped on shore, they took those three out of the boat, as prisoners ; one of the three I could perceive using the most passionate gestures of entreaty, affliction, and despair, even to a kind of extravagance ; the other two, I could perceive, lifted up their hands sometimes, and appeared concerned, indeed, but not to such a degree as the first. After I had noticed the outrageous usage of the three men by the insolent seamen, I observed the fellows run scattering about the island, as if they wanted to see the country. I found that the three other men had liberty to go also where they pleased ; but they sat down all three upon the ground, very pensive, and looked like men in despair.

CHAPTER X

THE MUTINY

IT was just at the top of high water when these people came on shore; and partly while they rambled about to see what kind of a place they were in, they had carelessly stayed till the tide was spent, and the water was ebbed considerably away, leaving their boat aground. They had left two men in the boat, who, as I found afterwards, having drunk a little too much brandy, fell asleep.

For a while I kept myself very close, not once daring to stir out of my castle any farther than to my place of observation, near the top of the hill; and very glad I was to think how well it was fortified. I knew it was no less than ten hours before the boat could float again, and by that time it would be dark, and I might be at more liberty to see their motions, and to hear their discourse, if they had any. In the meantime, I fitted myself up for a battle. I took myself two fowling pieces, and I gave Friday three muskets. My figure, indeed, was very

fierce ; I had my formidable goat's skin coat on, with the great cap I have mentioned, a naked sword by my side, two pistols in my belt, and a gun upon each shoulder.

It was my design, as I said above, not to have made any attempt till it was dark : but about two o'clock, being the heat of the day, I found that, in short, they were all gone straggling into the woods, and as I thought, laid down to sleep. The three poor distressed men, too anxious for their condition to get any sleep, were, however, sat down under the shelter of a great tree, at about a quarter of a mile from me, and, as I thought, out of sight of any of the rest. Upon this I resolved to discover myself to them, and learn something of their condition ; immediately I marched in the figure as above, my man Friday at a good distance behind me, as formidable for his arms as I, but not making quite so staring a spectre-like figure as I did. I came as near them undiscovered as I could, and then, before any of them saw me, I called aloud to them in Spanish, " What are ye, gentlemen ? " They started at the noise ; but were ten times more confounded when they saw me, and the uncouth figure that I made. They made no answer at all, but I thought I perceived them just going to fly from me, when I spoke to them in English :

"Gentlemen, I am a man, an Englishman, and disposed to assist you: you see I have one servant only; we have arms and ammunition: tell us freely, can we serve you? What is your case?"—"Our case," said he, "sir, is too long to tell you, while our murderers are so near us; but, in short, sir, I was commander of that ship, my men have mutinied against me; they have been hardly prevailed on not to murder me; and at last have set me on shore in this desolate place, with these two men with me, one my mate, the other a passenger, where we expected to perish, believing the place to be uninhabited, and know not yet what to think of it."—"Where are these brutes, your enemies?" said I. "Do you know where they are gone?"—"There they lie, sir," said he, pointing to a thicket of trees; "my heart trembles for fear they have seen us, and heard you speak; if they have, they will certainly murder us all."—"Have they any firearms?" said I. He answered, "They had only two pieces, one of which they left in the boat."—"Well, then," said I, "leave the rest to me; I see they are all asleep, it is an easy thing to kill them all: but shall we rather take them prisoners?" He told me there were two desperate villains among them, that it was scarce safe to show any mercy to; but if they were

secured, he believed all the rest would return to their duty. I asked him which they were? He told me he could not at a distance distinguish them, but he would obey my orders in anything I would direct. "Well," says I, "let us retreat out of their view or hearing, lest they awake, and we will resolve further." So they willingly went back with me, till the woods covered us from them.

"Look you, sir," said I, "if I venture upon your deliverance, are you willing to make two conditions with me? First, That while you stay in this island with me, you will not pretend to any authority here, and be governed by my orders: secondly, That if the ship is recovered, you will carry me and my man to England, passage free."

He gave me all the assurances that the invention or faith of man could devise. "Well, then," said I, "here are three muskets for you, with powder and ball: tell me next what you think is proper to be done."

He said very modestly "that he was loth to kill the mutineers if he could help it; but that those two were incorrigible villains, and had been the authors of all the mutiny in the ship, and if they escaped, we should be undone still; for they would go on board and bring the whole ship's company and destroy us all."

In the middle of this discourse we heard some of them awake, and soon after we saw two of them on their feet. I asked him "if either of them were the heads of the mutiny?" He said "no." "Well, then," said I, "you may let them escape; and Providence seems to have awakened them on purpose to save themselves. Now," says I, "if the rest escape you, it is your fault. Animated with this, he took the musket I had given him in his hand, and a pistol in his belt, and his two comrades with him, with each a piece in his hand; the two men who were with him going first, made some noise, at which one of the seamen who was awake turned about and, seeing them coming, cried out to the rest; but it was too late then, for the moment he cried out they fired; I mean the two men, the captain wisely reserving his own piece. They had so well aimed their shot at the men they knew, that one of them was killed on the spot, and the other very much wounded; but not being dead, he started up on his feet, and called eagerly for help to the others; but the captain knocked him down with the stock of his musket, so that he never spoke more; but there were three more in the company, and one of them was also slightly wounded. By this time I was come; and when they saw their danger,

and that it was in vain to resist, they begged for mercy. The captain told them he would spare their lives, if they would swear to be faithful to him in recovering the ship, and afterwards in carrying her back to Jamaica, from whence they came. They gave him all the protestations of their sincerity that could be desired, and he was willing to believe them, and spare their lives, which I was not against, only that I obliged him to keep them bound hand and foot while they were on the island.

While this was doing, I sent Friday with the captain's mate to the boat, with orders to secure her and bring away the oars and sails, which they did : and by and by three straggling men, that were (happily for them) parted from the rest, came back upon hearing the guns fired, and seeing the captain, who before was their prisoner, now their conqueror, they submitted to be bound also ; and so our victory was complete.

I told the captain the first thing we had to do was to stave the boat, which lay upon the beach, so that they might not carry her off ; and taking everything out of her, leave her so far useless as not to be fit to swim ; accordingly we went on board, took the arms which were left on board out of her, and whatever else we found there,



"We surprised the two men before they were aware; one of them lying on the shore, and the other being in the boat."

Then we knocked a great hole in her bottom, that if they had come strong enough to master us, yet they could not carry off the boat.

While we were musing what we should do, we heard the ship fire a gun, and saw her make a waft with her ensign as a signal for the boat to come on board ; but no boat stirred ; and they fired several times, making other signals for the boat. At last when all their signals and firing proved fruitless, and they found the boat did not stir, we saw them, by the help of my glasses, hoist another boat out, and row towards the shore ; and we found, as they approached, that there were no less than ten men in her, and that they had firearms with them.

As the ship lay almost two leagues from the shore, we had a full view of them as they came, and the captain knew the persons and characters of all the men in the boat, of whom he said there were three very honest fellows, who, he was sure, were led into this conspiracy by the rest, being overpowered and frightened ; but that as for the boatswain, who, it seems, was the chief officer among them, and all the rest, they were as outrageous as any of the ship's crew, and were no doubt made desperate in their new enterprise ; and terribly apprehensive he was that they would be too powerful for us.

We had, upon the first appearance of the boat's coming from the ship, considered of separating our prisoners; and we had, indeed, secured them effectually. Two of them, of whom the captain was less assured than ordinary, I sent with Friday, and one of the three delivered men, to my cave.

The other prisoners had better usage; two of them were kept pinioned, indeed, because the captain was not free to trust them: but the other two were taken into my service, upon the captain's recommendation, and upon their solemnly engaging to live and die with us; so with them and the three honest men, we were seven men well armed; and I made no doubt we should be able to deal well enough with the ten that were coming, considering that the captain had said that there were three or four honest men amongst them also. As soon as they got to the place where their other boat lay, they ran their boat into the beach, and came on shore, hauling the boat up after them. Being on shore, the first thing they did, they ran all to their other boat; and it was easy to see they were under a great surprise to find her stripped, as above, of all that was in her, and a great hole in her bottom. After they had mused awhile upon this, they set up two or three great shouts,

hallooming with all their might, to try if they could make their companions hear, but all was to no purpose ; then they came all close in a ring, and fired a volley of their small arms. They were so astonished at getting no reply to this that they immediately launched their boat again and got all of them on board.

They had not been long put off with the boat, but we perceived them all coming on shore again ; but with this new measure in their conduct, which it seems they consulted together upon, viz., to leave three men in the boat, and the rest to go on shore, and go up into the country to look for their fellows. This was a great disappointment to us, for now we were at a loss what to do ; as our seizing those seven men on shore would be no advantage to us, if we let the boat escape ; because they would then row away to the ship, and then the rest of them would be sure to weigh and set sail, and so our recovering the ship would be lost. However, we had no remedy but to wait and see what the issue of things might present. The seven men came on shore, and the three who remained in the boat put her off to a good distance from the shore, and came to an anchor to wait for them ; so that it was impossible for us to come at them in the boat. Those who came on shore kept

close together, marching towards the top of the little hill under which my habitation lay ; and we could see them plainly, though they could not perceive us. We would have been very glad if they would have come nearer to us, so that we might have fired at them, or that they would have gone farther off, that we might have come abroad. But when they were come to the brow of the hill, where they could see a great way into the valleys and woods, which lay towards the north-east part, and where the island lay lowest, they shouted and hallooed till they were weary ; and not caring, it seems, to venture far from the shore, nor far from one another, they sat down together under a tree, to consider of it. Had they thought fit to have gone to sleep there, as the other part of them had done, they had done the job for us ; but they were too full of apprehensions of danger to venture to go to sleep, though they could not tell what the danger was they had to fear. We waited a great while, though very impatient for their removing ; and were very uneasy, when, after long consultations, we saw them all start up, and march down towards the sea ; it seems they had such dreadful apprehensions upon them of the danger of the place, that they resolved to go on board the ship again, give

their companions over for lost, and so go on with their intended voyage with the ship.

As soon as I perceived them to go towards the shore, I thought of a stratagem to fetch them back again, and which answered my end to a tittle. I ordered Friday and the captain's mate to go over the little creek westward, towards the place where the savages came on shore when Friday was rescued, and as soon as they came to a little rising ground, at about half a mile distance, I bade them halloo out, as loud as they could, and wait till they found the seamen heard them; that as soon as ever they heard the seamen answer them, they should return it again; and then keeping out of sight, take a round, always answering when the others hallooed, to draw them as far into the island and among the woods, as possible, and then wheel about again to me, by such ways as I directed them.

They were just going into the boat when Friday and the mate hallooed: and they presently heard them, and answering, ran along the shore westward, towards the voice they heard, when they were presently stopped by the creek, where the water being up, they could not get over, and called for the boat to come up and set them over; as, indeed, I expected. When they had

set themselves over, I observed that the boat being gone a good way into the creek, and, as it were, in a harbour within the land, they took one of the three men out of her, to go along with them, and left only two in the boat, having fastened her to the stump of a little tree on the shore. This was what I wished for ; and immediately leaving Friday and the captain's mate to their business, I took the rest with me, and crossing the creek out of their sight, we surprised the two men before they were aware ; one of them lying on the shore, and the other being in the boat. The fellow on shore was between sleeping and waking, and going to start up ; the captain who was foremost, ran in upon him, and knocked him down ; and then called out to him in the boat to yield, or he was a dead man. There needed very few arguments to persuade a single man to yield, when he saw five men upon him, and his comrade knocked down ; besides, this was, it seems, one of the three who were not so hearty in the mutiny as the rest of the crew, and therefore was easily persuaded not only to yield, but afterwards to join very sincerely with us. In the meantime, Friday and the captain's mate so well managed their business with the rest, that they drew them, by hallooing and answering, from

one hill to another, and from one wood to another, till they not only heartily tired them, but left them where they were, very sure they could not reach back to the boat before it was dark ; and, indeed, they were heartily tired themselves also, by the time they came back to us.

We had nothing now to do but to watch for them in the dark and to fall upon them, so as to make sure work with them. It was several hours after Friday came back to me before they came back to their boat ; and we could hear the foremost of them, long before they came quite up, calling to those behind to come along ; and could also hear them answer, and complain how lame and tired they were, and not able to come any faster, which was very welcome news to us. At length they came up to the boat ; but it is impossible to express their confusion when they found the boat fast aground in the creek, the tide ebbed out, and their two men gone. I resolved to wait, to see if they did not separate ; and, therefore, to make sure of them, I drew my ambuscade nearer, and ordered Friday and the captain to creep upon their hands and feet, as close to the ground as they could, that they might not be discovered, and get as near them as they could possibly, before they offered to fire.

“The mate split open the door with a crow.”



They had not been long in that posture, when the boatswain who was the principal ringleader of the mutiny, and had now shown himself the most dejected and dispirited of all came walking towards them, with two more of the crew; the captain was so eager at having this principal rogue so much in his power, that he could hardly have patience to let him come so near as to be sure of him, for they only heard his tongue before; but when they came nearer, the captain and Friday, starting up on their feet, let fly at them. The boatswain was killed on the spot; the next man was shot in the body, and fell just by him, though he did not die till an hour or two after; and the third ran for it. At the noise of the fire I immediately advanced with my whole army, which was now eight men, viz., myself, generalissimo; Friday, my lieutenant-general; the captain and his two men, and the three prisoners of war, whom we had trusted with arms. We came upon them, indeed, in the dark, so that they could not see our number; and I made the man they had left in the boat, who was now one of us, to call them by name, to try if I could bring them to a parley, and so might perhaps reduce them to terms. So he calls out as loud as he could to one of them, "Tom Smith! Tom Smith!" Tom Smith

answered immediately, "Is that Robinson?" For it seems he knew the voice. The other answered, "Ay, ay; for God's sake, Tom Smith, throw down your arms and yield, or you are all dead men this moment."—"Who must we yield to? Where are they?" says Smith again. "Here they are," says he; "here's our captain and fifty men with him, have been hunting you these two hours: the boatswain is killed, Will Fry is wounded, and I am a prisoner; and if you do not yield, you are all lost."—"Will they give us quarter then?" says Tom Smith, "and we will yield."—"I will go and ask, if you promise to yield," says Robinson: so he asked the captain; and the captain himself then calls out, "You, Smith, you know my voice; if you lay down your arms immediately, and submit, you shall have your lives all but Will Atkins."

They all laid down their arms, and begged their lives; and I sent the man that had parleyed with them, and two more, who bound them all; and then my great army of fifty men, which particularly with those three, were in all but eight, came up and seized upon them, and upon their boat; only that I kept myself and one more out of sight for reasons of state.

Our next work was to repair the boat, and think of seizing the ship: and as for the cap-

tain, he told the mutineers that they were none of his prisoners, but the commander's of the island, who was an Englishman ; that he might hang them all there, if he pleased ; but as he had given them all quarter, he supposed he would send them all to England, to be dealt with there as justice required, except Atkins, whom he was commanded by the governor to advise to prepare for death, for that he would be hanged in the morning.

Though all this was but a fiction of his own, yet it had the desired effect : Atkins fell upon his knees, to beg the captain to intercede with the governor for his life ; and all the rest begged of him, for God's sake, that they might not be sent to England.

All this time I was careful to keep in the dark that they might not see what sort of a governor I was. Upon the captain's coming to me, I told him we must divide the prisoners, and then he should go and take Atkins and two more of the worst of them, and send them pinioned to the cave where the others lay. The others I ordered to my bower.

To these in the morning I sent the captain. He told them that though the governor had given them quarter for their lives as to the present action, yet that if they were sent to England,

they would all be hanged in chains, to be sure : but that if they would join in so just an attempt as to recover the ship, he would have the governor's engagement for their pardon.

Any one may guess how readily such a proposal would be accepted by men in their condition ; they fell down on their knees to the captain, and promised, with the deepest imprecations, that they would be faithful to him to the last drop.

" Well," says the captain, " I must go and tell the governor what you say, and see what I can do to bring him to consent to it." So he brought me an account of the temper he had found them in, and that he verily believed they would be faithful. However, that we might be very secure, I told him he should go back again and choose out five, and tell them that they might see he did not want men, that he would take out those five to be his assistants, and that the governor would keep the other two, and the three that were sent prisoners to the castle (my cave) as hostages for the fidelity of those five ; and that if they proved unfaithful in execution, the five hostages should be hanged in chains alive on the shore.

Our strength was now thus ordered for the expedition : first the captain, his mate, and passenger ; second, the two prisoners of the

first gang, to whom, having their character from the captain, I had given their liberty, and trusted them with arms; third, the other two that I had kept till now in my bower, pinioned, but, on the captain's motion, had now released; fourth, these five released at last; so that there were twelve in all, besides five we kept prisoners in the cave for hostages.

The captain now had no difficulty before him, but to furnish his two boats, stop the breach of one, and man them. He made his passenger captain of one, with four of the men; and himself, his mate, and five more, went in the other; and they contrived their business very well, for they came up to the ship about midnight. As soon as they came within call of the ship, he made Robinson hail them, and tell them they had brought off the men and the boat, but that it was a long time before they had found them, and the like, holding them in a chat till they came to the ship's side; when the captain and the mate entering first with their arms, immediately knocked down the second mate and carpenter with the butt end of their muskets; being very faithfully seconded by their men, they secured all the rest that were upon the main and quarter decks, and began to fasten the hatches, to keep them down that were below;

when the other boat and their men entering at the fore-chains, secured the fore-castle of the ship and the scuttle which went down into the cook-room, making three men they found there prisoners. When this was done, and all safe upon deck, the captain ordered the mate, with three men, to break into the round-house, where the new rebel captain lay, who having taken the alarm, had got up, and with two men and a boy had got firearms; and when the mate, with a crow, split open the door, the new captain and his men fired boldly among them, and wounded the mate with a musket ball, which broke his arm and wounded two more of the men, but killed nobody. The mate calling for help, rushed, however, into the round-house, wounded as he was, and with his pistol shot the new captain through the head, upon which the rest yielded, and the ship was taken effectually, without any more lives lost.

As soon as the ship was thus secured, the captain ordered seven guns to be fired, which was the signal agreed upon with me to give me notice of his success, which you may be sure I was very glad to hear, having sat watching upon the shore for it till near two o'clock in the morning. As soon as it was light the captain came ashore in the pinnace, bringing as a present

to me six new clean shirts, six very good neck-cloths, two pairs of gloves, one pair of shoes, a hat, and one pair of stockings, with a very good suit of clothes of his own, which had been worn very little ; in a word, he clothed me from head to foot. It was a very kind and agreeable present, as any one may imagine, to one in my circumstances, but never was anything in the world of that kind so unpleasant, awkward, and uneasy, as it was to me to wear such clothes at first. As soon as I was dressed in my new habit, I caused Friday and the two hostages, for they were now discharged, their comrades having performed their promise, to go to the cave and bring up the five men, pinioned as they were to the bower, and keep them there till I came. Being all met, and the captain with me, I caused the men to be brought before me, and I told them that by my direction the ship had been seized ; that she lay now in the road : and they might see by and by that their new captain had received the reward of his villainy, and that they would see him hanging at the yard-arm : that as to them, I wanted to know what they had to say why I should not execute them as pirates, taken in the fact, unless they had a mind to take their fate in the island ; if they desired that, as I had liberty to leave the island, I had some

inclination to give them their lives, if they thought they could shift on shore. They seemed very thankful for it, and said they would much rather venture to stay there than be carried to England to be hanged ; so I left it on that issue.

When they had all declared their willingness to stay, I then told them I would let them into the story of my living there, and put them into the way of making it easy to them ; accordingly, I gave them the whole story of the place, and of my coming to it ; showed them my fortifications, the way I made my bread, planted my corn, cured my grapes ; and, in a word, all that was necessary to make them easy. I told them the story also of the seventeen Spaniards that were to be expected, for whom I left a letter, and made them promise to treat them in common with themselves. They appeared very thankful, and I accordingly set them at liberty, and bade them retire into the woods to the place whence they came, and I would leave them some firearms, some ammunition, and some directions how they should live very well, if they thought fit.

I left them my firearms, viz., five muskets, three fowling-pieces, and three swords. I had above a barrel and a half of powder left ; for after the first year or two I used but little, and



“ The boat was ordered on shore, the tide being up, with the things promised to the men.”

wasted none. I gave them a description of the way I managed the goats, and directions to milk and fatten them, and to make both butter and cheese ; in a word, I gave them every part of my own story, and told them I should prevail with the captain to leave them two barrels of gunpowder more, and some garden seeds, which I told them I would have been very glad of : also I gave them a bag of peas which the captain had brought me to eat, and bade them be sure to sow and increase them.

Having done all this, I left them the next day, and went on board the ship. We prepared immediately to sail, but did not weigh that night. The next morning early, two of the five men came swimming to the ship's side, and making a most lamentable complaint of the other three, begged to be taken into the ship, for God's sake, for they should be murdered, and begged the captain to take them on board, though he hanged them immediately. Upon this the captain pretended to have no power without me ; but after some difficulty, and after their solemn promises of amendment, they were taken on board, and were some time after soundly whipped and pickled : after which they proved very honest and quiet fellows.

Some time after this, the boat was ordered on

shore, the tide being up, with the things promised to the men ; to which the captain, at my intercession, caused their chests and clothes to be added, which they took, and were very thankful for. I also encouraged them by telling them that if it lay in my power to send any vessel to take them in, I would not forget them.

When I took leave of this island I carried on board, for relics, the great goat-skin cap I had made, my umbrella, and one of my parrots ; also I forgot not to take the money I formerly mentioned, which had lain by me so long useless that it had grown rusty or tarnished, and could hardly pass for silver, till it had been a little rubbed and handled ; as also some money I found in the wreck of the Spanish ship. And thus I left the island, the 19th of December, as I found by the ship's account, in the year 1686, after I had been upon it eight-and-twenty years, two months, and nineteen days, being delivered from this second captivity the same day of the month that I first made my escape in the longboat from among the Moors of Sallee. In this vessel, after a long voyage, I arrived in England the 11th of June, in the year 1687, having been thirty-five years absent.

CHAPTER XI

CRUSOE GOES HOME

WHEN I came to England, I was as perfect a stranger to all the world as if I had never been known there. I went down into Yorkshire: but my father and mother were dead, and all the family extinct, except that I found two sisters and two of the children of one of my brothers, and as I had been long ago given over for dead, there had been no provision made for me: so that in a word, I found nothing to relieve me or assist me; and that the little money I had would not do much for me as to settling in the world.

I met with one piece of gratitude, indeed, which I did not expect; and this was, that the master of the ship whom I so happily delivered, and by the same means saved the ship and cargo, having given a very handsome account to the owners of the manner how I had saved the lives of the men and the ship, they invited me to meet them, and some other merchants concerned, and all together made me a very

handsome compliment upon the subject, and a present of almost two hundred pounds sterling.

I resolved to go to Lisbon, and see if I might not come by some information of the state of my plantation in the Brazils. With this view I took shipping for Lisbon, where I arrived in April following, my man Friday accompanying me very honestly in all these ramblings, and proving a most faithful servant upon all occasions. When I came to Lisbon, I found out my old friend the captain of the ship who first took me up at sea off the shore of Africa. He was now grown old, and had left off going to sea, having put his son into his ship, and who still used the Brazil trade.

After some passionate expressions of the old acquaintance between us, I inquired, you may be sure, after my plantation and my partner. The old man told me he had not been in the Brazils for about nine years; but that he could assure me that when he came away my partner was living; but the trustees, whom I had joined with him to take cognizance of my part, were both dead; that, however, he believed I would have a very good account of the improvement of the plantation; for that upon the general belief of my being cast away and drowned, my trustees had given in the account of the produce

of my part of the plantation to the procurator-fiscal, who had appropriated it, in case I never came to claim it, one-third to the king, and two-thirds to the monastery of St. Augustine, to be expended for the benefit of the poor, and for the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith ; but that if I appeared, or any one for me, to claim the inheritance, it would be restored ; only that the improvement, or annual production, being distributed to charitable uses, could not be restored. " But," says the old man, " I have one piece of news to tell you, which, perhaps, may not be so acceptable to you as the rest ; and that is, believing you were lost, and all the world believing so also, your partner and trustees did offer to account with me, in your name, for six or eight of the first years of profit, which I received." The old man let me see that he was debtor to me four hundred and seventy moidores of gold, besides sixty chests of sugar and fifteen double rolls of tobacco, which were lost in his ship ; he having been shipwrecked coming home to Lisbon about eleven years after my leaving the place. The good man then began to complain of his misfortunes, and how he had been obliged to make use of my money to recover his losses, and buy him a share in a new ship. " However, my old

friend," says he, "you shall not want a supply in your necessity ; and as soon as my son returns you shall be fully satisfied." Upon this, he pulls out an old pouch, and gives me one hundred and sixty Portugal moidores in gold ; and taking the writings of his title to the ship, which his son was gone to the Brazils in, of which he was a quarter part owner, and his son another, he puts them both into my hands, for security of the rest.

I was too much moved with the honesty and kindness of the poor man to be able to bear this ; and remembering what he had done for me, how he had taken me up at sea, and how generously he had used me on all occasions, I took one hundred of the moidores, and called for a pen and ink to give him a receipt for them : then I returned him the rest, and told him if ever I had possession of the plantation I would return the other to him also (as, indeed, I afterwards did) ; and that as to the bill of sale of his part in his son's ship, I would not take it by any means : but that if I wanted the money, I found he was honest enough to pay me ; and if I did not, but came to receive what he gave me reason to expect, I would never have a penny more from him.

When this was past, the old man asked me if

“So he falls a-jumping and shaking the bough, at which the bear began to totter, but stood still, and began to look behind him, to see how he should get back.”



he should put me into the method to make my claim to my plantation? I told him I thought to go over to it myself. He said I might do so, if I pleased ; but that if I did not, there were ways enough to secure my right, and immediately to appropriate the profits to my use : and as there were ships in the river of Lisbon just ready to go away to Brazil he made me enter my name in a public register, with his affidavit, affirming, upon oath, that I was alive, and that I was the same person who took up the land for the planting the said plantation at first. This being regularly attested by a notary, and a procuration affixed, he directed me to send it, with a letter of his writing, to a merchant of his acquaintance at the place ; and then proposed my staying with him till an account came of the return.

Never was anything more honourable than the proceedings upon this procuration ; for in less than seven months I received a large packet from the survivors of my trustees, the merchants, for whose account I went to sea.

Not to make a long story of this I was now master, all of a sudden, of about five thousand pounds sterling in money, and had an estate, as I might well call it, in the Brazils, of about a thousand pounds a year, as sure as an estate of

lands in England ; and, in a word, I was in a condition which I scarce knew how to understand, or how to compose myself for the enjoyment of it. The first thing I did was to recompense my original benefactor, my good old captain, so I first returned the hundred moidores I had received of him ; then I sent for a notary, and caused him to draw up a general release or discharge from the four hundred and seventy moidores, which he had acknowledged he owed me, in the fullest and firmest manner possible. After which I made a grant of one hundred moidores a year to him during his life, out of the proceeds of my estate, and fifty moidores a year to his son after him, for his life ; and thus I requited my old man.

Wishing now to return to England, I resolved to travel all the way by land, except from Calais to Dover. Making inquiries I found three English merchants and two young Portuguese gentlemen, the last going to Paris only ; so that in all there were six of us, and five servants.

In this manner I set out from Lisbon.

As I have troubled you with none of my sea journals, so I shall trouble you now with none of my land journals ; but some adventures that happened to us in this tedious and difficult journey I must not omit. When we came to

the edge of Navarre, we were alarmed at several towns on the way, with an account that so much snow was fallen on the French side of the mountains, that several travellers were obliged to come back to Pampeluna, after having attempted, at an extreme hazard, to pass on.

While I was considering this, there came in four French gentlemen, who having been stopped on the French side of the passes, as we were on the Spanish, had found out a guide, who, traversing the country near the head of Languedoc, had brought them over the mountains by such ways that they were not much incommoded with the snow ; for where they met with snow in any quantity, they said it was frozen hard enough to bear them and their horses.

Accordingly, we set out from Pampeluna, with our guide, on the 15th of November. When we approached the mountains the hills and precipices looked dreadful, yet our guide made so many tours, such meanders, and led us by such winding ways, that we insensibly passed the height of the mountains without being much incumbered with the snow ; and, all of a sudden, he showed us the pleasant fruitful provinces of Languedoc and Gascony, all green and flourishing, though, indeed, at a great distance, and we had some rough way to pass still.

We were a little uneasy, however, when we found it snowed one whole day and a night so fast that we could not travel ; but he bid us be easy ; we should soon be past it all : we found, indeed, that we began to descend every day, and to come more north than before ; and so, depending upon our guide, we went on.

One day we espied a bear come out of the wood, and a vast, monstrous one it was, the biggest by far that ever I saw. We were all a little surprised when we saw him ; but when Friday saw him, it was easy to see joy and courage in the fellow's countenance. " Oh—oh—oh ! " says Friday, three times, pointing to him. " O master ! you give me te leave, me shakee te hand with him ; me makee you good laugh."

So down he sits, and gets off his boots in a moment, and puts on a pair of pumps (as we call the flat shoes they wear, and which he had in his pocket), gives my other servant his horse, and with his gun, away he flew, swift like the wind.

The bear was walking softly on, and offered to meddle with nobody, till Friday coming pretty near, takes a great stone and throws it at him, and hit him just on the head. As soon as the bear felt the blow, and saw him, he turns about, and comes after him, taking long strides, and

shuffling on at a strange rate, such as would put a horse to a middling gallop ; away runs Friday, and takes his course as if he ran towards us for help ; so we all resolved to fire at once upon the bear, and deliver my man.

He cried out : “ No shoot, no shoot ; stand still, and you get much laugh ” ; and as the nimble creature ran two feet for the bear’s one, he turned on a sudden, on one side of us, and seeing a great-oak tree fit for his purpose, he beckoned to us to follow ; and doubling his pace, he gets nimbly up the tree, laying his gun down upon the ground, at about five or six yards from the bottom of the tree. The bear soon came to the tree, and we followed at a distance ; the first thing he did, he stopped at the gun, smelt it, but let it lie, and up he scrambles into the tree, climbing like a cat, though so monstrous heavy. I was amazed at the folly, as I thought it, of my man, and could not for my life see anything to laugh at yet, till seeing the bear get up the tree, we all rode nearer to him.

When we came to the tree, there was Friday got out to the small end of a large branch, and the bear got about half-way to him. As soon as the bear got out to that part where the limb of the tree was weaker—“ Ha ! ” says he to us,

“now you see me teachee the bear dance”; so he falls a-jumping and shaking the bough, at which the bear began to totter, but stood still, and began to look behind him, to see how he should get back; then, indeed, we did laugh heartily. But Friday had not done with him by a great deal; when seeing him stand still, he calls out to him again, as if he had supposed the bear could speak English: “What, you come no farther? pray you come farther”; so he left jumping and shaking the tree; and the bear, just as if he understood what he said, did come a little farther; then he fell a-jumping again, and the bear stopped again. Friday, seeing the bear cling fast to the bough, and that he would not be persuaded to come any farther: “Well, well,” says Friday, “you no come farther, me go; you no come to me, me come to you”; and upon this, he goes out to the smaller end of the bough, where it would bend with its weight, and gently lets himself down with it, sliding down the bough, till he came near enough to jump down on his feet, and away he runs to his gun, takes it up, and stands still.

When the bear saw his enemy gone, he comes back from the bough where he stood, but did it mighty cautiously, looking behind him every step, and coming backward till he got into the

body of the tree ; then with the same hinder-end foremost, he came down the tree, grasping it with his claws, and moving one foot at a time, very leisurely. At this juncture, and just before he could set his hind-foot on the ground, Friday stepped up close to him, clapped the muzzle of the piece into his ear, and shot him dead. Then the rogue turned about, to see if we did not laugh ; and when he saw we were pleased, by our looks, he falls a-laughing himself very loud. " So we kill bear in my country," says Friday. " So you kill them ? " says I, " why, you have no guns."—" No," says he, " no gun, but shoot great much long arrow."

These things, and the approach of night, called us off, or else, as Friday would have had us, we should certainly have taken the skin of this monstrous creature off, which was worth saving ; but we had near three leagues to go, and our guide hastened us, so we left him, and went forward on our journey.

We were not gone half over the plain when we began to hear the wolves howl in the wood on our left in a frightful manner.

The night was coming on, and the light began to be dusky, which made it worse on our side ; but the noise increasing, we could easily perceive that it was the howling and yelling of these

hellish creatures ; and on a sudden we perceived two or three troops of wolves, one on our left, one behind us, and one in our front, so that we seemed surrounded by them. However, as they did not fall upon us, we kept our way forward, as fast as we could make our horses go, which, the way being very rough, was only a good hard trot. In this manner we came in view of the entrance of the wood, through which we were to pass, at the farther side of the plain ; but we were greatly surprised, when, coming nearer the lane or pass, we saw a confused number of wolves standing just at the entrance. It happened very much to our advantage, that at the entrance into the wood, but a little way from it, there lay some large timber trees, which had been cut down the summer before, and I suppose lay there for carriage. I drew my little troop in among those trees, and placing ourselves in a line behind one long tree, I advised them all to alight, and keeping that tree before us for a breastwork, to stand in a triangle or three fronts enclosing our horses in the centre. We did so, and it was well we did ; for never was a more furious charge than the creatures made upon us in this place. They came on with a growling kind of noise, and mounted the piece of timber, which, as I said, was our breast-



"The villainy of three pirate sailors."

work, as if they were only rushing upon their prey ; and this fury of theirs, it seems, was principally occasioned by their seeing our horses behind us. I ordered our men to fire as before, every other man ; and they took their aim so sure, that they killed several of the wolves at the first volley ; but there was a necessity to keep a continual firing, for they came on like devils, those behind pushing on those before. I was loth to spend our shot too hastily ; so I called a servant, and giving him a horn of powder, I bade him lay a train all along the piece of timber, and let it be a large train. He did so ; and had but just time to get away, when the wolves came up to it, and some got upon it, when I, snapping an uncharged pistol close to the powder, set it on fire ; those that were upon the timber were scorched with it, and six or seven of them fell or rather jumped in among us, with the force and fright of the fire : we dispatched these in an instant, and the rest were so frightened with the light, which the night, for it was now very near dark, made more terrible, that they all fled and left us.

In about an hour more we came to the town where we were to lodge.

The next morning our guide was so ill that he could go no farther ; so we were obliged to take

a new guide here, and go to Toulouse, where we found a warm climate, a fruitful pleasant country, and no snow, no wolves, nor anything like them.

I have nothing uncommon to take notice of in my passage through France, nothing but what other travellers have given an account of, with much more advantage than I can. I travelled from Toulouse to Paris, and without any considerable stay came to Calais, and landed safe at Dover, the 14th of January, after having a severe cold season to travel in.

I had in a little time all my new discovered estate safe about me: the bills of exchange which I brought with me having been very currently paid.

My principal guide and privy counsellor was my good ancient widow; who, in gratitude for the money I had sent her, thought no pains too much, nor care too great, to employ for me; and I trusted her so entirely with everything that I was perfectly easy as to the security of my effects: and, indeed, I was very happy from the beginning, and now to the end, in the unspotted integrity of this good gentlewoman.

I now resolved to dispose of my plantation in the Brazils, if I could find means. For this purpose I wrote to my old friend at Lisbon, who having offered it to the two merchants,

the survivors of my trustees, who lived in the Brazils, they accepted the offer, and remitted thirty-three thousand pieces of eight to a correspondent of theirs at Lisbon to pay for it. Having signed the instrument of sale, and sent it to my old friend, he remitted me bills of exchange for thirty-two thousand eight hundred pieces of eight for the estate, reserving the payment of a hundred moidores a year to himself during his life and fifty moidores afterwards to his son for life, which I had promised them.

Though I had sold my estate in the Brazils, yet I could not keep the country out of my head ; nor could I resist the strong inclination I had to see my island. At times my imagination was worked up to such a height that I supposed myself at my old castle behind the trees, saw my old Spaniard, Friday's father, and the reprobate sailors I had left upon the island ; nay, and fancied I talked with them though I was broad awake ! One time in my sleep I had the villainy of the three pirate sailors so lively related to me by the first Spaniard and Friday's father that it was surprising. My true friend, the widow, earnestly dissuaded me from it, and so far prevailed with me, that, for almost seven years, she prevented my running abroad ; during which time I took my two nephews, the children

of one of my brothers, into my care : the eldest having something of his own, I bred up as a gentleman, and gave him a settlement of some addition to his estate, after my decease. The other I put out to a captain of a ship ; and after five years, finding him a sensible, bold, enterprising young fellow, I put him into a good ship, and sent him to sea : and this young fellow afterwards drew me in, old as I was, to further adventures myself.

In the meantime, I in part settled myself here : for, first of all, I married, and that not either to my disadvantage or dissatisfaction, and had three children, two sons and one daughter ; but my wife dying, and my nephew coming home with good success from a voyage to Spain, my inclination to go abroad, and his importunity prevailed, and engaged me to go in his ship as a private trader to the East Indies : this was in the year 1694.

CHAPTER XII

THE ISLAND REVISITED

ONE day my nephew came to me and told me that some merchants of his acquaintance had been proposing to him to go a voyage to the East Indies and to China, as private traders. "And now, uncle," says he, "if you will go to sea with me, I will engage to land you upon your old habitation in the island, for we are to touch at the Brazils."

The scheme hit so exactly with my temper that I told him I would go with him, but no farther than my island, and not wishing to be left there altogether and it being impossible for the ship to return for me, I had decided that we should carry a framed sloop on board the ship, which being taken in pieces, and shipped on board the ship, might, by the help of some carpenters, whom we agreed to carry with us, be set up again in the island, and finished, fit to go to sea, in a few days.

My nephew was ready to sail about the beginning of January, 1694-5, and I, with my

man Friday, went on board in the Downs on the 8th ; having, besides that sloop which I mentioned above, a very considerable cargo of all kinds of necessary things for my colony, which, if I did not find in good condition, I resolved to leave so.

I shall trouble nobody with the incidents of our voyage except to mention a very distant view of that most lamentable sight, a great ship on fire in the middle of the sea ; but to shorten my story, for the sake of what is to follow, shall observe, that I came to my old habitation, the island, on the 10th of April, 1695.

As we went on shore upon the tide of flood, near high water, we rowed directly into the creek ; and the first man that I fixed my eye upon was the Spaniard whose life I had saved. I ordered nobody to go on shore but myself ; but there was no keeping Friday in the boat, for the affectionate creature had spied his father at a distance, a good way off the Spaniards, where indeed I saw nothing of him ; and if they had not let him go ashore, he would have jumped into the sea. He was no sooner on shore, but he flew away to his father, like an arrow out of a bow. It would have made any man shed tears, in spite of the firmest resolution, to have seen the

first transports of this poor fellow's joy when he came to his father: how he embraced him, kissed him, stroked his face, took him up in his arms, and then walked up and down the shore with his father for hours. Always leading him by the hand as if he had been a lady.

It would be needless to take notice of all the ceremonies and civilities that the Spaniards received me with. The first Spaniard, who, as I said, I knew very well, was he whose life I had saved. While I was greeting him there arrived eleven of his party. The story my old friend told me of what had happened on the island since my departure was so interesting that I must set it down; but shall not trouble to do so in the first person.

It took my old friend but three weeks to find his countrymen and return to the island, but in that time, unluckily for them, I had the occasion offered for my escape, as I mentioned in my other part, and to get off from the island, leaving three of the most impudent, hardened, ungoverned, disagreeable villains behind me, that any man could desire to meet with; to the poor Spaniards' great grief and disappointment, you may be sure.

At first the rogues behaved fairly well, giving the Spaniards my long list of directions; nor

“A great ship on fire.”



did they refuse to accommodate the new-comers with anything else, for they agreed very well for some time. They gave them an equal admission into the house, or cave, and they began to live very sociably ; and the head Spaniard, who had seen pretty much of my methods, and Friday's father together, managed all their affairs : but as for the Englishmen, they did nothing but ramble about the island, shoot parrots, and catch tortoises ; and when they came home at night, the Spaniards provided their suppers for them. But differences soon broke out which at last resulted in open war.

But before I come to the particulars of this part, I must supply a defect in my former relation ; and this was, I forgot to set down, among the rest, that just as we were weighing the anchor to set sail, a second mutiny threatening amongst us the captain put two of the most refractory fellows ashore. These two men made their number five ; but the other three villains were so much more wicked than they, that after they had been two or three days together, they turned the two new-comers out of doors to shift for themselves, and would have nothing to do with them ; nor could they, for a good while, be persuaded to give them any food : as for the Spaniards, they were not yet come.

So the two poor fellows lived by themselves ; and pitched their tents on the north shore of the island.

Here they built them two huts, one to lodge in, and the other to lay up their magazines and stores in ; and the Spaniards when they arrived, having given them some corn for seed, and especially some of the peas which I had left them, they dug, planted and enclosed, after the pattern I had set for them all, and began to live pretty well. Their first crop of corn was on the ground ; and though it was but a little bit of land which they had dug up first, having had but a little time, yet it was enough to relieve them and find them with bread and other eatables.

They were going on in this little thriving posture, when the three unnatural rogues began to bully them, and told them the island was theirs ; that the Governor, meaning me, had given them the possession of it, and that they should build no houses upon their ground, unless they would pay rent for them. This the two men resisted stoutly and there arising a fight between them, the two, being able to come at their weapons, prevailed, but afterwards they paid dearly for this success, for the villains persecuted them outrageously.

But not to crowd this part with an account

of the lesser part of the rogueries, such as treading down their corn ; shooting three young kids and a she-goat, which the poor men had got to breed up tame for their store ; and, in a word, plaguing them night and day in this manner ; it forced the two men to such a desperation, that they resolved to fight them all three. In order to this, they went early one morning to the castle, as they called it (that was, my old dwelling), and asked that the Spaniards should stand by to see fair play.

It happened that the day before the Spaniards themselves had been subjected to the same demand for rent. They only smiled at that, and made no other answer.

Upon this the three rogues went all trooping away, with every man a gun, a pistol, and a sword, and muttered some insolent things among themselves, of what they would do to the Spaniards when opportunity offered.

Whither they went, or how they bestowed their time that evening, the Spaniards said they did not know ; but it seems they wandered about the country part of the night, and then lying down in the place which I used to call my bower, they were weary, and overslept themselves. The case was this : they had resolved to stay till midnight, and so take the two poor

men when they were asleep, and, as they acknowledged afterwards, intended to set fire to their huts while they were in them, and either burn them there, or murder them as they came out.

When they came there, and found the men gone, they fell to work with the poor men's habitation, and, in a word, sacked and plundered everything as completely as a horde of Tartars would have done.

When the three came back like furious creatures, flushed with the rage which the work they had been about had put them into, they came up to the Spaniards, and told them what they had done, by way of scoff and bravado; threatening to do the like to them; and a scuffle ensuing, the three ruffians were disarmed. The Spaniards said that if the three would live peaceably, they should receive help as before, and be allowed to mix freely with the others, but no arms would be allowed them while they persisted in their present temper threatening mischief and servitude, not to their two countrymen only, but to every one on the island. The rogues were now no more capable to hear reason than to act with reason; but being refused their arms, they went away, raging and swearing like furies.

In about five days' time the three vagrants, tired with wandering, and almost starved with hunger, having chiefly lived on turtle's eggs all that while, came back to the grove; and finding my Spaniard, who, as I have said, was the governor, and two more with him walking by the side of the creek, they came up in a very submissive, humble manner, and begged to be received again into the family. The Spaniards obliged the three to go and rebuild their fellows' two huts, one to be of the same, and the other of larger dimensions, than they were before, and, in a word, to restore everything in the state as they found it, as near as they could.

Well, they submitted to all this; and as they had plenty of provisions given them all the while, they grew very orderly, and the whole society began to live pleasantly and agreeably together again.

It happened one night that the Spanish governor, as I call him, that is to say, the Spaniard whose life I had saved, who was now the captain, or leader, or governor of the rest, being unable to sleep, arose and went out of doors, accompanied by another Spaniard whom the noise he made had awakened. They were going round through the grove, unconcerned and unwary, when they were surprised with seeing a light as

of fire, a very little way from them, and hearing the voices of savages, not one or two, but of a great number.

We need not doubt but that the governor and the man with him, surprised with this sight ran back immediately, and raised their fellows, giving them an account of the immediate danger they were all in.

While it was still dark, they sent the old savage, Friday's father, out as a spy, to learn, if possible, something concerning the savages ; as what they came for, what they intended to do, and the like. After he had been gone an hour or two, he brings word that he has been among them undiscovered ; that he found they were two parties, and of two several nations, who had war with one another, and had a great battle in their own country ; and that both sides having had several prisoners taken in the fight, they were, by mere chance, landed all on the same island, for the devouring their prisoners and making merry, but their coming so by chance to the same place had spoiled all their mirth ; that they were in a great rage at one another, and were so near, that he believed they would fight again as soon as daylight began to appear, and thus it turned out.

The battle was very fierce ; and held two hours

before they could guess which party would be beaten ; but then that party which was nearest our people's habitation began to fly ; three crossing the creek, ran directly into the grove, not in the least knowing whither they went, but running as into a thick wood for shelter. These were taken prisoners without much difficulty.

The residue of the conquered people fled to their canoes, and got off to sea ; the victors retired, made no pursuit, or very little, but drawing themselves into a body together, gave two screaming shouts, which the white men supposed was by way of triumph, and so the fight ended : and the same day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, they also marched to their canoes. And thus the Spaniards had their island again free to themselves, their fright was over and they saw no savages in several years afterwards.

This deliverance tamed our Englishmen for a great while. They lived two years after this in perfect retirement, and had no more visits from the savages. They had indeed an alarm given to them one morning, which put them into great consternation ; for some of the Spaniards being out early one morning on the west side, or rather end, of that island (which was that end where I never went, for fear of being dis-

covered), they were surprised with seeing about twenty canoes of Indians just coming on shore. They made the best of their way home, in hurry enough ; and giving the alarm to their comrades, they kept close all that day and the next, going out only at night to make their observation ; but they had the good luck to be mistaken ; for wherever the savages went, they did not land that time on the island, but pursued some other design.

And now they had another broil with the three mutineers, and learnt from one of the two honest Englishmen how Will Atkins, one of the three, had proposed to have all the five Englishmen join together, and murder all the Spaniards when they were in their sleep.

After a long debate, it was agreed, first that they should be disarmed, and not permitted to have either gun, powder, shot, sword, or any weapon ; and should be turned out of the society, and left to live where they would, and how they would, by themselves ; but that none of the rest, either Spaniards or English, should converse with them, speak with them, or have anything to do with them : that they should be forbid to come within a certain distance of the place where the rest dwelt.

The three ruffians pitched their tents, and



“ Friday walked up and down the shore with his father for hours, leading him by the hand as if he had been a lady.”

marked themselves out a habitation and plantation in a very convenient place, indeed, on the remotest part of the island, N.E.

Here they built themselves two handsome huts, and contrived them in a manner like my first habitation, but close under the side of a hill, having some trees growing already on three sides of it, so that by planting others, it would be very easily covered from the sight, unless narrowly searched for. They desired some dried goats' skins for beds and coverings, which were given them ; and upon giving their words that they would not disturb the rest, or injure any of their plantations, the Spaniards gave them hatchets, and what other tools they could spare ; some peas, barley, and rice, for sowing ; and, in a word, anything they wanted, except arms and ammunition.

About three-quarters of a year after this separation, a whim took these three, that they would make a voyage to the continent, from whence the savages came, and would try if they could seize upon some prisoners among the natives there, and bring them home, so to make them do the laborious part of the work.

The Spaniards told them, with great kindness, that if they were resolved to go, they should not go like naked men, and be in no condition to

defend themselves : and that though firearms could be ill spared, yet the adventurers should have two muskets, a pistol, and a cutlass, and each man a hatchet. In a word, the three accepted the offer ; and having baked bread, enough to serve them a month, and as much goat's flesh as they could eat while it was sweet, and a great basket of dried grapes, a pot of fresh water, and a young kid alive, they boldly set out in the canoe for a voyage over the sea, where it was at least forty miles broad.

After two-and-twenty days' absence they returned. They gave the Spaniards a full account of their voyage in a few words, viz., That they reached the land in two days, or something less ; but finding the people alarmed at their coming, and prepared with bows and arrows to fight them, they durst not go on shore, but sailed on to the northward six or seven hours, till they came to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they saw from our island was not the main, but an island ; upon entering that opening of the sea, they saw another island on the right hand, north, and several more west ; and having resolved to land somewhere, they put over to one of the islands which lay west, and went boldly on shore : that they found the people very courteous and friendly

“ The Spaniards were surprised with seeing about twenty canoes of Indians just coming on shore.”



to them ; so they continued here four days.

They were told by the people that their great king had two hundred prisoners now, which he had taken in his war, and they were feeding them to make them fat for the next feast. The Englishmen seemed mighty desirous of seeing those prisoners ; but the others mistaking them, brought down five women, and three men, and gave them to the Englishmen, to carry with them on their voyage, just as we would bring so many cows and oxen down to a seaport town to victual a ship.

The Englishmen were obliged to come away as soon as they had them, or else the givers would certainly have expected that their visitors should have gone to work and have killed two or three of the captives the next morning, and perhaps have invited the donors to dinner. When the three wanderers had given this journal of their voyage, the whole colony went down to the place of the prisoners' confinement to see them. When they came into the hut, there they sat all bound.

First, there were three men, lusty, comely fellows, well-shaped, straight and fair limbs, about thirty to thirty-five years of age ; and five women, whereof two might be from thirty to forty ; two more, not above four or five-and-

twenty; and the fifth, a tall comely maiden, about sixteen or seventeen. The women were well-favoured, agreeable persons, both in shape and features, only tawny; of a very modest behaviour, especially when they came afterwards to be clothed and dressed, though that dress was very indifferent, it must be confessed.

The five Englishmen took every one of them a wife; and so they set up a new form of living; for the Spaniards and Friday's father lived in my old habitation, which they had enlarged exceedingly within. The three servants which were taken in the late battle of the savages lived with them; and these carried on the main part of the colony, supplied all the rest with food, and assisted them in anything as they could, or as they found necessity required. The three wicked ones had pitched farthest off, and the two honest ones nearer, but both on the north shore of the island, so that they continued separated as before; and thus my island was peopled in three places; and, as I might say, three towns were commenced to be built.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SPANIARD'S STORY

BUT I now come to a scene different from all that had happened before, either to them or to me ; and the original of the story was this : Early one morning, there came on shore five or six canoes of Indians or savages, call them which you please, and there is no doubt they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their slaves. All the colony had to do was to lie concealed, and this they did no less successfully than before.

After the canoes with the savages were gone off, the Spaniards peeped abroad again ; and some of them had the curiosity to go to the place where they had been to see what they had been doing. Here, to their great surprise, they found three savages left behind, and lying fast asleep upon the ground.

The poor fellows were strangely frightened when they were seized upon and bound. Afterwards they were carried to the habitation of the two Englishmen.

“ They could see the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and, in a minute or more, could see all their huts and household stuff flaming up together.”



Here they were set to work, though it was not much there was for them to do ; and whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that it was thought the fellows could not mend themselves, I know not, but one of them ran away, and taking to the woods was never heard of any more.

There was good reason to believe he got home again soon after, in some other boats or canoes of savages who came on shore three or four weeks afterwards ; and who, carrying on their revels as usual, went off in two days' time. This savage had never been told, and it was very happy he had not, how many there were on the island, or where they lived ; nor had he ever seen or heard the fire of any of their guns, much less had they shown him any of their other retired places ; such as the cave in the valley, or new retreats which the two Englishmen had made, and the like.

The first testimony they had that this fellow had given intelligence of them was, that, about two months after this, six canoes of savages, with about seven, eight, or ten men in a canoe, came rowing along the north side of the island, where they never used to come before, and landed, about an hour after sunrise, at a convenient place, about a mile from the habitation

of the two Englishmen, where this escaped man had been kept. The two men had the happiness to discover them about a league off, so that it was about an hour before they landed ; and as they landed about a mile from the huts, it was some time before they could attack. Now, having great reason to believe that they were betrayed, the first thing the two Englishmen did was to bind the two slaves which were left, and cause two of the three men who were brought with the women (who it seems proved very faithful to their masters) to lead them, with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them, to their retired places in the woods, which I have spoken of above, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot, till they heard further.

When the two poor frightened men had secured their wives and goods, they sent the other slave they had of the three who came with the women, and who was at the place by accident, away to the Spaniards with all speed, to give them the alarm, and desire speedy help ; and, in the meantime, they took their arms and what ammunition they had, and retreated towards the place in the wood where their wives were sent ; keeping at a distance, yet so that they might see, if possible, which way the savages took.

They had not gone far, but that from a rising ground they could see the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and, in a minute more, could see all their huts and household stuff flaming up together, to their great grief and mortification ; for they had a very great loss, to them irretrievable, at least for some time.

They retreated now into a very thick-grown part of the woods and where an old trunk of a tree stood, which was hollow and vastly large ; and in this tree they both took their standing, resolving to see there what might offer. They had not stood there long, before two of the savages appeared running directly that way, and a little way farther they espied three more coming after them, and five more beyond them, all coming the same way ; besides which, they saw seven or eight more at a distance running another way ; for, in a word, they ran every way, like sportsmen beating for their game.

The two Englishmen allowed the first two to pass, and waited until the three followed by the five, were almost upon them.

While they were thus waiting, and the savages came on, they plainly saw that one of the three was the runaway savage that had escaped from them ; and they both knew him distinctly,

and resolved that, if possible, he should not escape, though they should both fire ; so the other stood ready with his piece, that if he did not drop at the first shot, he should be sure to have a second. But the first was too good a marksman to miss his aim ; for as the savages kept near one another, a little behind, in a line, he fired, and hit two of them directly : the foremost was killed outright, being shot in the head ; the second, which was the runaway Indian, was shot through the body, and fell, but was not quite dead ; and the third had a little scratch in the shoulder, perhaps by the same ball that went through the body of the second ; and being dreadfully frightened, though not so much hurt, sat down upon the ground, screaming and yelling in a hideous manner.

The five that were behind, more frightened with the noise than sensible to the danger, came to the place where their companions lay, in a condition miserable enough ; and here the poor ignorant creatures, not sensible that they were within reach of the same mischief, stood all of a huddle over the wounded man, talking, and, as may be supposed, inquiring of him how he came to be hurt. Our two men, the first having loaded his piece again, shot together, and killed, or very much wounded, four of them :

the fifth, frightened even to death, though not hurt, fell with the rest ; so that our men, seeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all.

The two Englishmen came boldly out from the tree, killed the runaway slave with the stocks of their muskets, put a wounded savage out of his pain and bound the man who was not hurt at all to the foot of a tree. Their first concern now was to ascertain if the savages had discovered the hiding-place of the women, and to make them easy, who were in fright enough to be sure.

When they came there, they found the savages had been in the wood, and very near that place, but had not found it : for it was indeed inaccessible, by the trees standing so thick, unless the persons seeking it had been directed by those that knew it, which these did not ; they found, therefore, everything very safe, only the women in a terrible fright. While they were here, they had the comfort to have seven of the Spaniards come to their assistance ; the other ten, with their servants, and old Friday, I mean Friday's father, were gone in a body to defend their bower, and the corn and cattle that was kept there, in case the savages should have roved over to that side of the country ; but they did not spread so far.

When the Spaniards came, the two Englishmen were so encouraged, that they resolved, though with all possible caution, to go forward, towards their ruined plantation ; but a little before they came thither, coming in sight of the sea-shore, they saw plainly the savages all embarked again in their canoes, in order to be gone. The colonists seemed sorry, at first, that there was no way to come at their invaders, to give them a parting blow ; but, upon the whole, they were very well satisfied to be rid of them.

It was five or six months after this before they heard any more of the savages, in which time our men were in hopes they had either forgot their former bad luck, or given over hopes of better ; when, on a sudden, they were invaded with a most formidable fleet of no less than eight-and-twenty canoes full of savages, armed with bows and arrows, great clubs, wooden swords, and such-like engines of war ; and they brought such numbers with them, that, in short, it put all our people into the utmost consternation.

As they came on shore in the evening, and at the easternmost side of the island, our men had that night to consult and consider what to do ; and, in the first place, knowing that their being entirely concealed was their only safety before, and would be much more so now, while the

number of their enemies was so great, they therefore resolved first of all, to take down the huts which by the combined efforts of all, including the three rascals, had been rebuilt, for the two Englishmen, and drive away their goats to the old cave; because they supposed the savages would go directly thither as soon as it was day, to play the old game over again, though they did not now land within two leagues of it. The next morning early the colonists posted themselves, with all their force, at the plantation of the two men, to wait for the enemy.

The savages, to the number of two hundred and fifty, as near as our men could judge, came forward like lions until Will Atkins, who, with six men, was planted behind a thicket as an advance guard, poured two volleys into them from behind. Had he and his men retired immediately, as soon as they had fired, as they were ordered to do, the savages had been effectually routed; for the terror that was among them came principally from this, viz., that they were killed by the gods with thunder and lightning, and could see nobody that hurt them; but Will Atkins, staying to load again, discovered the cheat; some of the savages who were at a distance spying them, came upon them behind; and though Atkins and his men fired at them

also, two or three times, and killed about twenty, retiring as fast as they could, yet they wounded Atkins himself, and killed one of his fellow Englishmen, with their arrows, as they did afterwards one Spaniard, and one of the Indian slaves who came with the women. The Spaniards, after firing three volleys upon them retreated also ; for their number was so great, and they were so desperate, that though about fifty of them were killed, and more than as many wounded, yet they came on in the teeth of our men, fearless of danger, and shot their arrows like a cloud ; and it was observed that their wounded men, who were not quite disabled, were made outrageous by their wounds, and fought like madmen.

When our men retreated, the savages did not seem to pursue them, but drew themselves up in a ring, which is, it seems, their custom, and shouted twice, in token of their victory ; after which they had the mortification to see several of their wounded men fall, dying with the mere loss of blood.

The Spaniards now decided to fight no more until morning, when the wounded savages would be dead or faint from loss of blood ; but a clear moonlight night ensuing, and the enemy crowding in great disorder about their dead and wounded,



“ The others were not at all backward in giving a full share of their produce to the widow and her children.”

the Spaniards surrounded them, and pouring volleys in upon them from all sides won a complete victory, and cut them off from their canoes, which, by the advice of Will Atkins, were then utterly destroyed.

Our men killed or mortally wounded in the two fights about one hundred and eighty of them ; the rest being frightened out of their wits, scoured through the woods and over the hills with all the speed fear and nimble feet could help them to. The best was, they had no weapons ; for though they had bows, they had no arrows left, nor any materials to make any ; nor had they any edge-tool or weapon among them.

The extremity and distress they were reduced to was great and indeed deplorable, and many were afterwards found dead in the woods, without any hurt, absolutely starved to death.

When our men found this, it made their hearts relent, and pity moved them, especially the Spaniard governor, who was the most gentleman-like, generous-minded man that I ever met with in my life, and he proposed to send them an offer through a prisoner who had been taken.

This offer, which had been communicated to the captive by old Friday, was to give the savages part of the island to live in, provided

they would give satisfaction that they would keep in their own bounds, and not come beyond it to injure or prejudice others ; and that they should have corn given them to plant and make it grow for their bread, and some bread given them for their present subsistence.

The poor wretches, thoroughly humbled, and reduced in number to about thirty-seven, closed with the proposal the first offer. They were confined to a neck of land, surrounded with high rocks behind them, and lying plain towards the sea before them, on the south-east corner of the island. They had land enough, and it was very good and fruitful ; about a mile and a half broad, and three or four miles in length.

Our men taught them to make wooden spades, such as I made for myself, and gave among them twelve hatchets, and three or four knives ; and there they lived, the most subjected, innocent creatures that ever were heard of.

After this, the colony enjoyed a perfect tranquillity with respect to the savages, till I came to revisit them, which was about two years after.

Having thus given a view of the state of things as I found them, I must relate the heads of what I did for these people, and the condition in which I left them. It was their opinion, and mine

too, that they would be troubled no more with the savages, or, if they were, they would be able to cut them off if they were twice as many as before ; so they had no concern about that. Then I entered into a serious discourse with the Spaniard, whom I call governor, about their stay in the island ; for as I was not come to carry any of them off, so it would not be just to carry off some and leave others, who, perhaps, would be unwilling to stay if their strength was diminished. On the other hand, I told them I came to establish them there, not to remove them : and then I let them know that I had brought with me relief of sundry kinds for them ; that I had been at a great charge to supply them with all things necessary, as well for their convenience as their defence ; and that I had such and such particular persons with me, as well to increase and recruit their number, as by the particular necessary employments which they were bred to, being artificers, to assist them in those things in which they were at present in want.

They were all together when I talked thus to them : and before I delivered to them the stores I had brought, I asked them, one by one, if they had entirely forgot and buried the first animosities that had been among them, and would

shake hands with one another, and engage in a strict friendship and union of interest, that so there might be no more misunderstandings and jealousies.

Most frank and open declarations were made on both sides. Will Atkins had behaved himself so bravely in the great fight with the savages that the Spaniards had forgotten all that was past, and thought he merited as much to be trusted with arms, and supplied with necessities, as any of them : and they had testified their satisfaction in him, by committing the command to him, next to the governor himself ; and as they had entire confidence in him, and all his countrymen, so they acknowledged they had merited that confidence by all the methods that honest men could merit to be valued and trusted ; and they most heartily embraced the occasion of giving me this assurance, that they would never have any interest separate from one another. Will Atkins proved no less cordial.

Upon this we appointed the next day to dine all together ; and, indeed, we made a splendid feast.

After this feast, at which we were very innocently merry, I brought out my cargo of goods : wherein that there might be no dispute about dividing, I showed them that there was a suffi-



“ Friday cried out that they were going to shoot.”

ciency for them all, desiring that they might all take an equal quantity of the goods that were for wearing : that is to say, equal when made up. I cannot express what pleasure, what satisfaction, sat upon the countenances of all these poor men, when they saw the care I had taken of them, and how well I had furnished them. They told me I was a father to them ; and that having such a correspondent as I was in so remote a part of the world, it would make them forget that they were left in a desolate place ; and they all voluntarily engaged to me not to leave the place without my consent.

Then I presented to them the people I had brought with me, particularly the tailor, the smith, and the two carpenters, all of them most necessary people ; but, above all, my general artificer, than whom they could not name anything that was more useful to them.

Then I brought them out all my store of tools, and gave every man a digging-spade, a shovel, and a rake, for we had no harrows or ploughs ; and to every separate place a pickaxe, a crow, a broad-axe, and a saw ; always appointing that as often as any were broken or worn out, they should be supplied without grudging, out of the general stores that I left behind. Nails, staples, hinges, hammers, chisels, knives, scissors,

and all sorts of iron-work, they had without tale, as they required : for no man would take more than he wanted, and he must be a fool who would waste or spoil them on any account whatever ; and for the use of the smith, I left two tons of unwrought iron for a supply.

My magazine of powder and arms which I brought them was such, even to profusion, that they could not but rejoice at them ; for now they could march as I used to do, with a musket upon each shoulder, if there was occasion ; and were able to fight a thousand savages, if they had but some little advantages of situation, which also they could not miss, if they had occasion.

And now the other two Englishmen removed their abode to a more fertile place ; and so the island was divided into three colonies, and no more, viz., the Spaniards, with old Friday, and the first servants, at my old habitation under the hill, which was, in a word, the capital city ; and where they had so enlarged and extended their works, as well under as on the outside of the hill, that they lived, though perfectly concealed, yet full at large.

The other colony was that of Will Atkins, where there were four families of Englishmen, I mean those I had left there, with their wives

“He saluted them with a ladleful of boiling pitch, and the carpenter, dipping a mop in the pot, threw the stuff among the natives so plentifully, that they all ran away howling.”



and children ; three savages that were slaves ; the widow and the children of the Englishman that was killed, to whom the others were not at all backward in giving a full share of all their produce. There were also the two carpenters and the tailor, whom I brought with me for them ; also the smith, who was a very necessary man to them, especially as a gunsmith, to take care of their arms ; and my other man, whom I called Jack-of-all-trades, who was in himself as good almost as twenty men ; for he was not only a very ingenious fellow, but a very merry fellow.

Having now done with the island, I left them all in good circumstances, and in a flourishing condition, and went on board my ship again on the 6th of May, having been about twenty-five days among them ; and as they were all resolved to stay upon the island till I came to remove them, I promised to send them further relief from the Brazils, if I could possibly find an opportunity ; and, particularly, I promised to send them some cattle, such as sheep, hogs, and cows ; as to the two cows and calves which I had brought from England, we had been obliged, by the length of our voyage, to kill them at sea, for want of hay to feed them.

CHAPTER XIV

PERIL BY SEA

THE next day, giving them a salute of five guns at parting, we set sail, and arrived at the Bay of All Saints, in the Brazils, in about twenty-two days, meeting nothing remarkable in our passage but this: that the third day, towards evening, the sea smooth, and the ship lying becalmed, we saw above a hundred canoes coming towards us. They came on apace; so I gave orders to come to an anchor, and furl all our sails: as for the savages, I told our men they had nothing to fear but fire, and therefore they should get their boats out, and fasten them, one close by the head, and the other by the stern, and man them both well, and wait the issue in that posture; this I did, that the men in the boats might be ready with sheets and buckets to put out any fire these savages would endeavour to fix to the outside of the ship.

In this posture we lay by for them, and in a little while they came up with us.

When they came nearer to us, they seemed to be struck with wonder and astonishment, as at a sight which doubtless they had never seen before ; nor could they, at first, as we afterwards understood, know what to make of us ; they came boldly up, however, very near to us, and seemed to go about to row round us ; but we called to our men in the boats not to let them come too near them. This very order brought us to an engagement with them, without our designing it : for five or six of the large canoes came so near our longboat that our men beckoned with their hands to keep them back, which they understood very well, and went back, but at their retreat about fifty arrows came on board us from those boats, and one of our men in the longboat was very much wounded. However, I called to our men not to fire by any means ; but we handed down some deal boards into the boat, and the carpenter presently set up a kind of fence, like waste boards, to cover them from the arrows of the savages, if they should shoot again.

About half an hour afterwards the savages all came up in a body astern of us, and so near, as that we could easily discern what they were, though we could not tell their design ; and I easily found they were some of my old friends,

the same sort of savages that I had been used to engage with ; and in a short time more they rowed a little farther out to sea, till they came so near that they could hear us speak : upon this I ordered all my men to keep close, lest they should shoot any more arrows, and made all our guns ready ; but being so near as to be within hearing, I made Friday go out upon the deck, and call out aloud to them in his language, to know what they meant ; which, accordingly he did. Immediately afterwards, Friday cried out they were going to shoot, and, unhappily for him, poor fellow, they let fly about three hundred of their arrows, and, to my inexpressible grief, killed poor Friday, no other man being in their sight. The poor fellow was shot with no less than three arrows, and about three more fell very near him ; such unlucky marksmen they were !

I was so enraged at the loss of my old trusty servant and companion, that I immediately ordered five guns to be loaded with small shot, and four with great, and gave them such a broadside as they had never heard in their lives before, to be sure. They were not above half a cable length off when we fired.

I can neither tell how many we killed, nor how many we wounded, at this broadside, but sure

such a fright and hurry never was seen among such a multitude ; there were thirteen or fourteen of their canoes split and upset in all, and the men all set a-swimming ; the rest, frightened out of their wits, scoured away as fast as they could, taking but little care to save those whose boats were split or spoiled with our shot ; so I suppose that many of them were lost.

We were now under sail again ; but I was the most disconsolate creature alive for want of my man Friday.

And now I name the poor fellow once more, I must take my last leave of him ; poor honest Friday ! We buried him with all the decency and solemnity possible, by putting him into a coffin, and throwing him into the sea ; and I caused them to fire eleven guns for him ; and so ended the life of the most grateful, faithful, honest, and most affectionate servant that ever man had.

We now went away with a fair wind for Brazil ; and in about twelve days' time we made land, in the latitude of five degrees south of the line, being the north-easternmost land on all that part of America. We kept on S. by E. in sight of the shore four days, when we made Cape St. Augustine, and in three days came to an anchor off the Bay of All Saints, the old place of my

deliverance, from whence came both my good and evil fate.

From the Brazils we made directly over the Atlantic Sea to the Cape of Good Hope, and had a tolerably good voyage, our course generally south-east, now and then a storm, and some contrary winds, but my disasters at sea were at an end; my future rubs and cross events were to befall me on shore.

We stayed at the Cape no longer than was needful to take in fresh water, but made the best of our way for the coast of Coromandel.

We touched first at the island of Madagascar, where we fared very well for a time. It happened, however, one evening, when we went on shore that one of our fellows, feeling himself insulted by a young native, struck him, which led to a free fight in which one of our sailors was killed by a lance that was thrown at him. Being outnumbered, our men were forced to retreat to the ship, whence they fired upon the natives a broadside, loaded with pieces of iron and steel, small bullets and such stuff beside the great shot which made a terrible havoc. Nor did this revenge satisfy our crew, but they must go ashore at midnight and burn the village, massacring both men and women.

I was very angry with my nephew, the captain,

and indeed with all the men, but with him in particular, as prompting rather than cooling the rage of his crew in so cruel and bloody an enterprise. The next day we set sail. I always, after that time, told our men that God would blast the voyage, for I looked upon the blood they had shed that night to be murder in them.

We were now bound to the Gulf of Persia, and from thence to the coast of Coromandel, only to touch at Surat.

But my frequent preaching to them on the subject of their cruelties in Madagascar had worse consequences than I expected; and the boatswain, who had been the head of the attempt, came up boldly to me one time, and told me that unless I would resolve to have done with it, and also not to concern myself any further with him, or any of his affairs, he would leave the ship; for he did not think it was safe to sail with me among them.

I replied that I was a considerable owner in the ship; in that claim, I conceived I had a right to speak even further than I had done, and would not be accountable to him or any one else. He made but little reply to me at that time, and I thought the affair had been over. We were at this time in the road at Bengal; and being willing to see the place,

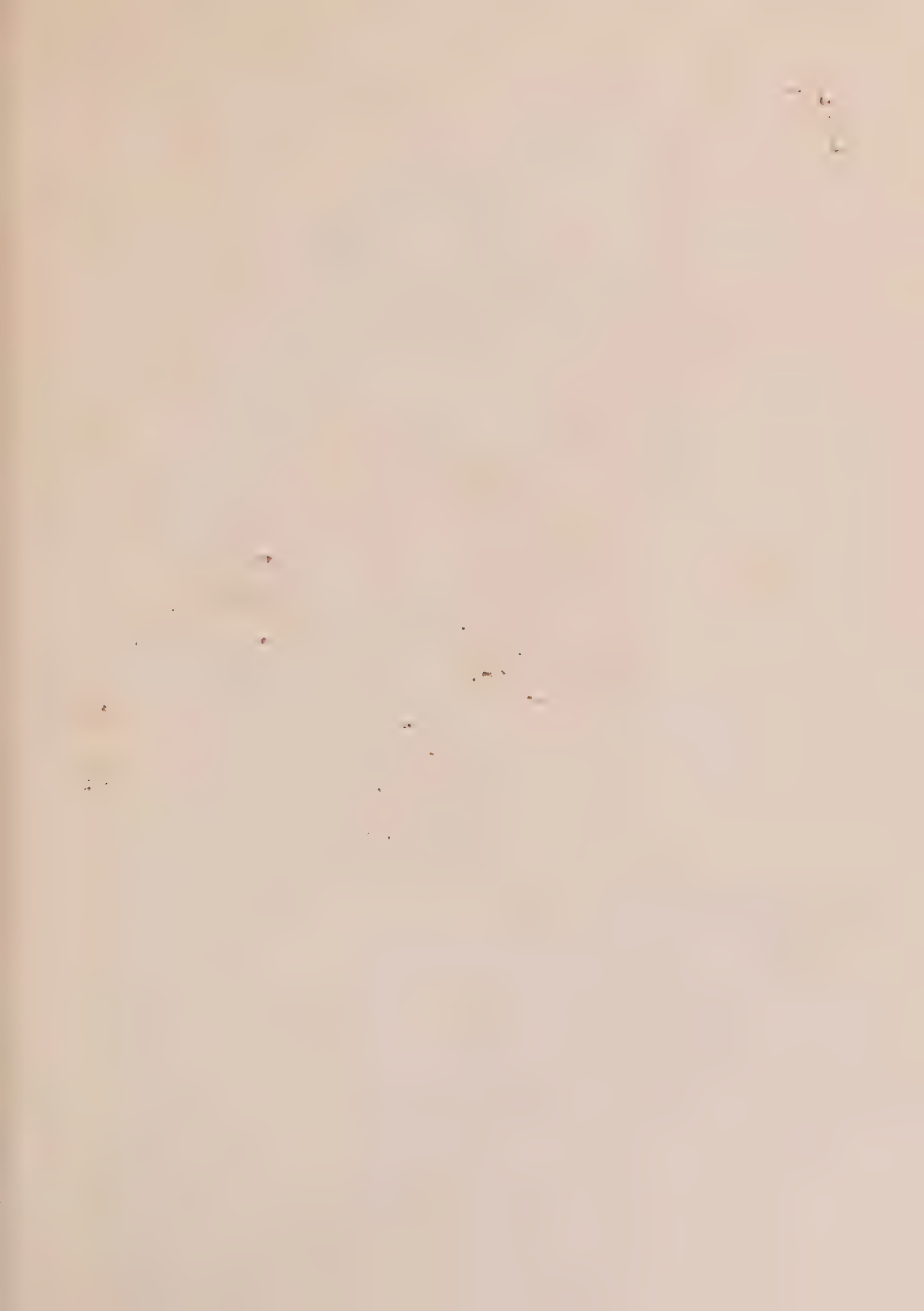
I went on shore with the supercargo, in the ship's boat, to divert myself; and towards evening was preparing to go on board, when one of the men came to me, and told me he would not have me trouble myself to come down to the boat, for they had orders not to carry me on board any more.

It seems that when I went ashore, the boatswain, the gunner, the carpenter, and, in a word, all the inferior officers told the captain that, as they shipped themselves to serve under his command, they would perform it faithfully; but if I would not quit the ship they would all leave it, and sail no farther with him.

When my nephew, the captain, who came on shore, told me this, I said he should not be concerned at it at all, for I would stay on shore; I only desired he would take care and send me all my necessary things on shore, and leave me a sufficient sum of money, and I would find my way to England as well as I could.

So the matter was over in a few hours, the men returned to their duty, and I began to consider what course I should steer.

I was now alone in the most remote part of the world, as I think I may call it, for I was near three thousand leagues by sea farther off from England than I was at my island.





“My partner told me he dreamed he bore a heavy load on his back, which he was to carry up a hill.”

Here I had the mortification to see the ship set sail without me. However, my nephew left me two servants, or rather one companion and one servant; the first was clerk to the purser, whom he engaged to go with me, and the other was his own servant. I took me also a good lodging in the house of an Englishwoman, where several merchants lodged, some French, two Italians, or rather Jews, and one Englishman. After a long stay, the English merchant who lodged with me made a proposal.

“Countryman,” says he, “if you will put one thousand pounds to my one thousand pounds, we will hire a ship here, the first we can get to our minds; you shall be captain, I’ll be merchant, and we’ll go a trading voyage to China.”

I liked this proposal very well, and the more because it seemed to be expressed with so much goodwill, and in so friendly a manner.

In a short time we got a ship to our minds. We made this voyage to Achin, in the island of Sumatra, and from thence to Siam, where we exchanged some of our wares for opium and some arrack; the first a commodity which bears a great price among the Chinese, and which, at that time, was much wanted there. In a word, we went up to Suskan, made a very great voyage, were eight months out, and returned to Bengal;

and I was very well satisfied with my adventure.

We next made a voyage to the Spice Islands, and came home in about five months. We sold our spice, which was chiefly cloves and some nutmegs, to the Persian merchants, who carried them away to the gulf; and, making near five of one, we really got a great deal of money.

But, to be short with my speculations, a little while after this there came in a Dutch ship from Batavia; she was a coaster, of about two hundred tons burthen, and was offered for sale by the captain. Accordingly, we bought the ship, and took possession. When we wished to engage the crew, not one of them was to be found. Afterwards I came to know what sort of fellows they were; for, in short, their history was, that this man they called captain was the gunner only, not the commander; that they had been a trading voyage, in which they had been attacked on shore by some of the Malays, who had killed the captain and three of his men; and that, after the captain was killed, these men, eleven in number, had resolved to run away with the ship, which they did, and brought her to Bengal, leaving the mate and five more men on shore.

We picked up some more English sailors here after this, and some Dutch; and now we re-

“He sat lolling about in a great elbow chair, his meat being brought to him by two women slaves. Another fed the squire with a spoon, and yet another held the dish with one hand, and scraped off what the former let fall upon his worship’s beard and taffety vest, with the other.”





solved for a second voyage to the south-east for cloves, etc.; that is to say, among the Philippine and Molucca isles; and, in short, I spent, from first to last, six years in this country, trading from port to port, backward and forward, with very great success, and was now the last year with my new partner, going in the ship above mentioned on a voyage to China, but designing first to go to Siam, to buy rice.

In this voyage, being by contrary winds obliged to beat up and down a great while in the straits of Malacca, and among the islands, we were no sooner got clear of those difficult seas than we found our ship had sprung a leak, and we were not able to find out where it was. This forced us to make some port; and my partner, who knew the country better than I did, directed the captain to put into the river of Cambodia; for I had made the English mate, one Mr. Thompson, captain, not being willing to take the charge of the ship upon myself. While we were here and going often on shore for refreshment, there comes to me one day an Englishman, and he was, it seems, a gunner's mate on board an English East India ship which rode in the same river. "Do you know, sir," said he, "the town of Cambodia lies about fifteen leagues up this river? and there are two large

English merchant ships about five leagues on this side, and three Dutch.”—“Well,” said I, “and what is that to me?”—“This much,” he replied, “if you do not put to sea immediately, you will the very next tide be attacked by five longboats full of men, and, perhaps, if you are taken, you will be hanged for a pirate, and the particulars be examined afterwards. I suppose you know well enough that you were with this ship at Sumatra; that there your captain was murdered by the Malays, with three of his men; and that you, or some of those that were on board with you, ran away with the ship, and are since turned pirates. This is the sum of the story, and you will all be seized as pirates, I can assure you, and executed with very little ceremony. If you have any regard for your life, and the lives of all your men, put to sea without fail, at high water.”

After thanking him heartily I went immediately on board, and ordered the anchor to be got up; and we stood out to sea. Then I called my partner into the cabin, and told him the story; and we called in the men, and they told us the rest of it: but as it took up a great deal of time, before we had done a seaman comes to the cabin door, and called out to us that the captain bade him tell us we were chased. “Chased!”

says I; "by what?"—"By five sloops, or boats," says the fellow, "full of men."

We made ready for fight: but all this while we kept out to sea, with wind enough, and could see the boats at a distance, being five large long-boats following us with all the sail they could make.

Two of these boats (which by our glasses we could see were English) outsailed the rest, were near two leagues ahead of them and gained upon us considerably till they were near enough to call to them with a speaking-trumpet which we had on board; so we called to them, and bade them keep off, at their peril.

It was all one; they crowded after us, and endeavoured to come under our stern, so we fired our guns at them, which carried away the stern of the hindermost boat.

While this was doing, one of the three boats that was behind, being forwarder than the other two, made up to the boat which we had disabled, to relieve her, and we could see her take out the men; we called again to the foremost boat, but she crowded close under our stern. Upon this we wore the ship and brought our quarter to bear upon them, and firing three guns more, we found the boat was almost split to pieces. Upon this I immediately manned out our pin-

“One yarn was of a ship big enough to carry fifty men, with all its masts and sails in earthenware. I knew that the narrator lied, so I smiled and said nothing.”





nace, with orders to pick up some of the men. Our men in the pinnace followed their orders and took up three men, one of whom was drowning. As soon as they were on board, we crowded all the sail we could, and the boats gave over the chase.

Being thus delivered from a danger, I resolved that we should change our course and not let any one know whither we were going: so we stood out to sea, eastward, quite out of the course of all European ships.

After a tedious and irregular course, we came within sight of the coast of Cochin China, and resolved to put into a small river to repair a leak. Accordingly, having lightened the ship, we tried to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom. The place we were in was wild and barbarous, the people thieves even by occupation or profession. They now came all about us, with ten or twelve large boats, intending, no doubt, to plunder the ship. Most of our men were at work among the stages, but the handful on board resisted furiously. An accident gave us a complete victory. Our carpenter, for the purpose of ship repairs, had two kettles, one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with oil, and the man that assisted him had a great iron ladle in his hand. The latter immediately

saluted them with a ladleful of the stuff, boiling hot. The carpenter saw it, and himself takes a mop and dipping it in the pitch pot, he and his men threw it among the natives so plentifully that they all ran away howling. The next day, having healed our ship of all leaks, we set sail, and in time came to an anchor at the south-west point of the great Gulf of Nanquin; where, by the way, I came by accident to understand that two Dutch ships were gone that length before me, and that I should certainly fall into their hands. I asked the old pilot if there was no creek or harbour which I might put into and pursue my business with the Chinese privately, and be in no danger of the enemy. He told me, if I would sail to the southward about forty-two leagues, there was a little port called Quinchang, where the fathers of the mission usually landed from Macao, on their progress to teach the Christian religion to the Chinese, and where no European ships ever put in. We all agreed to go back to this place, and weighed the next day, having only gone twice on shore where we were to get fresh water.

We came to the other port (the wind being contrary) not till five days, but it was very much to our satisfaction; and I was joyful, and I may say thankful, when I set my foot on shore,

resolving, and my partner, too, that if it was possible to dispose of ourselves and effects any other way, though not every way to our satisfaction, we would never set one foot on board that unhappy vessel more. Both my partner and I had scarce slept a night without dreaming of halters and yardarms. In proportion to our anxiety at sea was our relief now at being on shore; and my partner told me he dreamed he bore a heavy load on his back, which he was to carry up a hill; but that the pilot removed it, and the hill sank into the plains, and truly it was so, we were all like men who had been freed from a great load.

When we came ashore the old pilot got us a lodging, and a warehouse for our goods. Besides this, he made us acquainted with three missionary Romish priests. One, Father Simon, was appointed, it seems, by order of the chief of the mission to go up to Peking, the royal seat of the Chinese emperor, and waited only for another priest, who was ordered to come to him from Macao, to go along with him; and we scarce ever met together but he was inviting me to go that journey.

But we had our ship and our merchandise to dispose of. Providence began here to clear up our way a little; our old Portuguese pilot

brought a Japan merchant to us, who bought all our opium, and gave us a very good price for it. I proposed to him to deal with us for our ship also, and he consented to hire her to go to Japan, saying that on his return he would buy the ship. So away he went to Japan. The priest for whom Father Simon was waiting, arriving about this time, there was nothing now to prevent our setting out for Pekin.

CHAPTER XV

ADVENTURES ASHORE

WE were twenty-five days travelling to Pekin, through a country infinitely populous, but I think badly cultivated; the husbandry, the economy, and the way of living miserable, though they boast so much of the industry of the people. The pride of the people is infinitely great; their ostentation is inexpressible; and, if they can, they love to keep multitudes of servants or slaves. For example, passing the house of a country gentleman we saw him, a perfect Don Quixote in pomp and poverty, dining in his garden.

He sat under a tree, lolling about in a great elbow chair, his meat being brought him by two women slaves. Another fed the squire with a spoon, and yet another held the dish with one hand, and scraped off what the former let fall upon his worship's beard and taffety vest, with the other.

At length we arrived at Pekin; I had nobody with me but the youth whom my nephew the

captain had given me to attend me as a servant, and who proved very trusty and diligent ; and my partner had nobody with him, but one servant, who was a kinsman. As for the Portuguese pilot, he being desirous to see the world, we bore his charges for his company, and to use him as an interpreter, for he understood the language of the country, and spoke good French and a little English ; and, indeed, this old man was a most useful implement to us everywhere ; for we had not been above a week at Pekin, when he came laughing, and told us **there** was a great caravan of Muscovy and Polish merchants preparing to set out on their journey by land to Muscovy, within four or five weeks.

It was in the beginning of February, our style, when we set out from Pekin. The company was very great, and, as near as I can remember, made, between three and four hundred horses, and upwards of one hundred and twenty men, very well armed, and provided for all events. The road on a time passed through districts where the chief industry was tempering the earth for the China ware. I was shown a house built, as we call it in England, with lath and plaster, but all the plastering was China ware. The people tell you incredible tales of accomplishments in this line. One yarn was of a ship big

enough to carry fifty men, with all its masts and sails in earthenware. I knew that the narrator lied, so I smiled and said nothing.

In two days we passed the great China wall, made for a fortification against the Tartars. And here I began to find the necessity for keeping together in a caravan as we travelled, for we saw several troops of Tartars roving about; but when I came to see them distinctly, I wondered more that the Chinese Empire could be conquered by such contemptible fellows; for they are a mere horde of wild fellows, keeping no order, and understanding no discipline or manner of fight.

We were all this while in the Chinese dominions, and therefore the Tartars were not so bold as afterwards; but in about five days we entered a vast, great wild desert, which held us three days and nights' march; and we were obliged to carry our water with us in great leathern bottles, and to encamp all night, just as I have heard they do in the desert of Arabia.

I asked our guides whose dominion this was in; and they told me this was a kind of border, and might be called No Man's Land, being a part of Great Karakathay, or Grand Tartary; but, however, it was all reckoned as belonging to China, but that there was no care taken here to

preserve it from the inroads of thieves, and therefore it was reckoned the worst desert in the whole march, though we were to go over some much larger.

We travelled near a month after this, the ways not being so good as at first, though still in the dominions of the emperor of China, but lay for the most part in villages, some of which were fortified, because of the incursions of the Tartars.

At last we came to the city of Naun, or Naum.

After this we passed several great rivers, and two dreadful deserts, one of which we were sixteen days passing over; on the 13th of April, we came to the frontiers of the Muscovite dominions. As we advanced unto them we were very visibly obliged to the care the Czar of Muscovy has taken to have cities and towns built in as many places as it is possible to place them, where his soldiers keep garrison, something like the stationary soldiers placed by the Romans in the remotest countries of their empire; for wherever we came, though at these towns and stations the garrisons and governors were Russians and professed Christians, yet the inhabitants were mere pagans; sacrificing to idols, and worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, or all the host of heaven.





"There stood out, upon an old stump of a tree, an idol made of wood."

In a village near Nertzinskay, I had the curiosity to go and see their way of living, which is most brutish and insufferable; they had had, I suppose, a great sacrifice that day; for there stood out, upon an old stump of a tree, an idol made of wood, frightful as the devil; at least, as anything we can think of to represent the devil can be made: it had a head not so much as resembling any creature that the world ever saw; ears as big as goats' horns, and as high; eyes as big as a crown piece; a nose like a crooked ram's horn, and a mouth extended four-cornered, like that of a lion, with horrible teeth, hooked like a parrot's under bill: it was dressed up in the filthiest manner that you could suppose; its upper garment was of sheep-skins, with the wool outward; a great Tartar bonnet on the head, with two horns growing through it: it was about eight feet high; yet had no feet or legs, nor any other proportion of parts.

This scarecrow was set up at the outer side of the village; and when, I came near to it, there were sixteen or seventeen creatures, all lying flat upon the ground round this formidable block of shapeless wood. A little way off from the idol, and at the door of a tent or hut, made all of sheep-skins and cow-skins dried, stood three butchers—I thought they were such: when





we mistook for butchers, we saw a light ; and going up close to the door, we heard people talking as if there were five or six of them.

We determined on making them our prisoners ; and tying their hands, compelled them to stand and see their idol destroyed, which we accomplished by means of the combustibles we had brought with us.

We appeared in the morning among our fellow travellers, exceeding busy in getting ready for our journey ; nor could any man suggest that we had been anywhere but in our beds, as travellers might be supposed to be, to fit themselves for the fatigues of the day's journey.

But the affair did not end so : the next day came a great number of the country people to the town gates, and in a most outrageous manner demanded satisfaction of the Russian governor for the insulting their priests, and burning their Cham Chi-Thaungu. The Russian governor gave them all the good words imaginable ; and at last, to appease them, told them there was a caravan gone towards Russia that morning, and perhaps it was some of them who had done them this injury, and that he would send after them to inquire into it. Then the governor sent after us, intimating that if any in our caravan had done it, they should make their escape ;





“They sent three messengers to to demand the men to be delivered to them that had abused their priests, and burned their god Cham Chi-Thaungu.”

but that, whether we had done it or no, we should make all the haste forward that was possible.

The captain of the caravan took the hint, and we travelled two days and two nights without any considerable stop, and then we lay at a village called Plothus. Thence we hastened on towards Jarawena, but upon the second day's march from Plothus, by the clouds of dust behind us at a great distance, some of our people began to be sensible we were pursued. The third day Tartars came pouring in upon us towards the dusk of the evening. They did not come on us like thieves, as we expected, but sent three messengers to us, to demand the men to be delivered to them that had abused their priests, and burned their god Cham Chi-Thaungu with fire, that they might burn them with fire; and upon this, they said they would go away and do us no further harm, otherwise they would destroy us all.

The leader of the caravan sent word he was well assured that it was not done by any of our camp. They were far from being satisfied with this for an answer; and we escaped them only through the cunning of a Cossack of Jarawena, who rode away from our rear, and taking a great circuit, came on the army of the Tartars, as if he had been sent express to them, and told them

that the people who had burned the Cham Chi-Thaungu were gone to Sibeilka, with a caravan of miscreants, as he called them, that is to say, Christians; and that they had resolved to burn the god Schai-Isarg, belonging to the Tongueses.

Upon this, away the Tartars drove in a great hurry, and in less than three hours they were entirely out of sight. So we passed safely on to Jarawena, and thence through a frightful desert to a country pretty well inhabited.

I have nothing material to say of my particular affairs till I came to Tobolski, the capital city of Siberia, where I let the caravan go, and made provision for the winter.

This being the country where the state criminals of Muscovy are all banished, the city was full of noblemen, princes and gentlemen, with several of whom I became friendly.

About the latter end of May I began to pack up, but it was not until the beginning of June that I left this remote place, a city, so far out of the road of commerce, that I know not how it should be much talked of.

We arrived all safe at Archangel on the 18th of July; but were obliged to stay at this place six weeks for the arrival of the ships.

We set sail from Archangel the 20th of August,

in a Hamburger, the same year ; and after no extraordinary bad voyage, arrived safe in the Elbe the 18th of September. Here my partner and I found a very good sale of our goods, and dividing the produce, my share amounted to three thousand four hundred and seventy-five pounds seventeen shillings and three pence, including about six hundred pounds' worth of diamonds which I purchased at Bengal.

To conclude, having stayed near four months in Hamburg, I came from thence by land to The Hague, where I embarked in the packet, and arrived in London the 10th of January, 1705, having been absent from England ten years and nine months. And here I am, preparing for a longer journey than all these, having lived a life of infinite variety seventy-two years, and learned sufficiently to know the value of retirement, and the blessing of ending our days in peace.





